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EDITORIAL

That sociological approaches can elucidate the meaning of delinquent forms of behaviour is obvious enough, but the degree to which the culture patterns are distributed in space and time and throw up different forms of behaviour is illuminatory of causes. This is so in the study of Dr. Tsing-Yi Lin of Formosa. Here we witness two precipitates, as it were, of youthful aberrant conduct groups which arise from different levels of traditionalism and modernism. These sub-cultures inter-penetrate the adolescent group which is in a normal social bracket in itself. The enquiry brings into relief the influences of culture conflict within one community undergoing its own social development under the pressure of tradition and of Western modernistic impacts. In America it has been noticed how migrants from state to state, having different mores, throw up the effects of stress produced in the struggle for adjustment. The Taiwan (Formosa) phenomena show the delinquents in each of the groups studied to have different sexual attitudes, different traditional pride, different patterns of rebellion. Why these groups have delinquent qualities is perhaps due to the common adolescent assertion of freedom to formulate and act out its own laws, but the difference of attitudes should stimulate further enquiry.

Dr. Jahoda's paper is also a culture problem—a clash due to the fast-developing new social economic order, which yet retains primitive modes of symbolism and response. This behaviour of the money-doublers seems to have both conscious and unconscious factors, the educated forerunners of a new culture half embedded in the magical notions of the basic culture exploiting those who remain completely embedded. This phenomenon is not unknown, as Dr. Jahoda observes, in higher cultured groups where

islands of primitive beliefs remain unchanged in an overall developed economy. Everywhere the tricksters use the same quasi-magical methods of exploitation.

Dr. Gibbens' paper on adolescent car thieves also illustrates a culture issue, but to a less degree. The car is a powerful and attractive feature of the modern scene, but it satisfies the discontent of the adolescent's frustration in sexual development, impeded by family fixation of no pronounced neurotic character. The symbolism of the powerful car, the sexual disguise and the sexual opportunities afforded are noticeable to any guardian of the law who watches the parks and the lonely roads. The process is not all unconscious and the drawing up of plans of treatment of such offenders must take account of adolescent tensions and of adolescent efforts to remain in the age bracket of revolt and, at the same time, to appear as adults.

Dr. Howard Jones's paper on juvenile delinquency in Leicester is a useful contribution to ecological studies as carried out in this country within the past twenty years, notably in Liverpool, Cambridge, ' Radby,' Oxford, and Croydon. Even if no strikingly new facts emerge from his work, it is good to have most of our previous findings confirmed by a careful investigator. The central districts and the new housing estates once more show the largest concentrations, and on the latter it is particularly the high rate of residential mobility that matters. Valuable, too, are Dr. Jones's distinction of ' real ' and minor offenders, of breeding areas and attracting areas of delinquency, and his comparison of court dispositions in Leicester with those of some other cities of similar size.

OBITUARY

It is with sincere regret that we have to record the untimely death of Dr. G. C. Berg who, for some years, did valuable clinical work for the Clinic of the Institute for the Study and Treatment of Delinquency.

Dr. Berg was born in India and was educated both in this country and abroad, subsequently studying at St. Thomas's Hospital. He qualified early in the First World War and served in the R.A.M.C. He took early to the study of psychiatry and had his first clinical experience of mental disorder at the old Bethlem Royal Hospital; he got his M.D. and D.P.M. in 1927. He had an analytical training and was deeply committed to analytical treatment and writing from then onwards. He practised at the Tavistock Clinic and, up to a short time before his death, was on the staff of the British Hospital for Functional Nervous Disorders.

Dr. Berg will remain in one's memory not only for his engaging personality and tremendous energy, but for his writings, which, though having a popular trend, had nevertheless an authentic touch of the serious student of the analytical approach to mental disorder. He was tireless in his efforts to get over to the public the significance of psycho-analytical treatment and the method of approach to the nervous patient.

One of his early books, ' Clinical Psychology ' and the book ' Deep Analysis ' introduced the interested public to the psycho-analytic technique. An early essay, which eventually formed a volume, was a valuable investigation of ' The Unconscious Significance of Hair '. His latest book, ' The First Interview with a Psychiatrist ', should undoubtedly prove of value not only to the young psychiatrist feeling his way towards an understanding of the emotional problems, but also to the general physician whose method of case-history taking is sometimes barren of any reference to the human situation.

Dr. Berg's personality will be remembered with warmth by all those who came into contact with him either professionally or socially.

E. M.

TAI-PAU AND LIU-MANG:
Two Types of Delinquent Youths in Chinese Society[1]

By TSUNG-YI LIN (Taiwan)

Tai-pau,[2] a nickname for juvenile delinquents, has become a problem of growing concern to the police, teachers and parents and also an increasingly popular topic of press comment in Taiwan (Formosa). The recent discussion on new legislation recommending a separate juvenile court and juvenile probation officers ; the establishment of a juvenile prison which became overcrowded in three months ; a plan for a separate school for *Tai-pau* students—all of these indicate the gravity of the problem and the interest and effort of various authorities concerned. The only child guidance clinic in Taiwan—the Taipei Children's Mental Health Centre—has been fully occupied with these youngsters referred to them by schools and parents since its establishment two years ago. This community-wide concern has naturally led to speculation as to the cause, and it is not unfashionable for adults, teachers or street-philosophers to curse Hollywood movies as being responsible for the whole matter and to take pride in giving accounts of the good old days. When one examines carefully this problem of *Tai-pau* in Chinese society, however, one soon realizes that these *Tai-paus* have unduly over-shadowed another group of adolescents—*Liu-mang*—who are not less important in causing social problems. The present paper will describe the behaviour and structure of these two groups in relation to their socio-cultural background, and some attempts will be made to understand the group dynamics.

[1] This paper was read at the 10th Annual Meeting of the World Federation for Mental Health, Copenhagen, August, 1957.

[2] The term ' *Tai-pau* ' has its origin in the history of ' Shi-shan *Tai-pau* ' (Thirteen *Tai-paus*) in Tang Dynasty. There was a famous general called Lee Keh-yung who had thirteen adopted sons. Due to the distinguished service of General Lee in wars and also to the promotion of all his adopted thirteen sons to the rank of ' *Tai-pau* ', which was a highly respected position in the court, the Lee family became extremely influential in those days. Several of the thirteen adopted sons and many of their descendants and relatives, however, took advantage of their prestige and caused considerable trouble to the community. This made the respected term ' Shi-shan *Tai-pau* ', which was originally used to celebrate the thirteen distinguished sons of the Lee family, to have a poor implication. The recent increase in delinquent youths of good family background has some similarity to the above *Tai-pau's* troubles to the community in the old days and the term ' *Tai-pau* ' has been applied to this group of problem adolescents. Thus, while the word ' *Tai-pau* ' has a long history, the use of ' *Tai-pau* ' to denote a specific group of problem adolescents in Taiwan is of recent origin.

Two Types of Peer Groups

While *Tai-pau* is a newly coined name either for an individual problem adolescent or for a group of such individuals, *Liu-mang* is a long established term meaning vagrant or law-breaker. This difference of nomenclature signifies the historical difference of the two groups, the former being of recent origin and the latter traditional. One finds these *Tai-paus* in small groups scattered mostly in big cities, whereas the *Liu-mangs* are more or less concentrated in certain old sections of both cities and small towns. *Tai-paus* are usually distinguishable from other youths by their conspicuous appearance and attention-seeking manners. Their favourite 'nests' are cinema-theatres, café-restaurants, ping-pong houses, billiard clubs and parks, but most of them live at home with their families. It is more difficult to distinguish the majority of *Liu-mangs* from the rest of the population, unless one is acquainted with their subtle features in dress and manners. The *Liu-mangs* congregate in those areas where typical Chinese urban life takes place. The winding narrow streets are crowded all day with noisy pedestrians and pedicab shoppers carrying out business transactions and seeing to many other daily necessities. Small children run and play in and out of the houses, the front rooms of which are used for businesses of many sorts while the back rooms and rooms upstairs are used for residences often of several families. When the busy day is over, the family gets together to talk over events of the day or the father enjoys playing Chinese chess, one-stringed fiddles or visiting friends. The market place and courtyards of Chinese temples provide, aside from their original functions, the best meeting places for adults and playgrounds for children in afternoons and evenings. The complexity of these areas is enhanced by the presence of theatres, illegal gambling places, restaurants, and houses of prostitution, all of which absorb a large number of outsiders.

A large number of *Tai-paus*, or rather the majority of *Tai-paus* who have caught the attention of the authorities, come from middle or upper class families. They are mostly middle-school or unsuccessful students, their ages ranging from 14 to 18. The traditional value placed on education in Chinese culture and the limited facilities for higher education, which is necessary for a secure job, combine to make competition in school very acute, and the pressure on the children from teachers and parents is enormous. This applies particularly to children of middle or upper class families. Coming from such backgrounds, *Tai-paus* tend to play truant in small groups from three or four to ten in their 'nests' around the modern amusement sections of cities. Movies, billiards, ping-pong, cards, eating or smoking in café-restaurants, and some sports in the parks are their favourite activities. When the means for this expenditure are exhausted or

when a junior member is compelled to please his group leader in terms of money or goods, improper ways of getting money—lying, stealing, blackmailing, or occasionally robbing—are the outcome. Although proportionately very small in number, a few girls are found to be associated with *Tai-paus* in their group activities and are called *Tai-mei*. Sexual irregularities occur occasionally, but serious sex offences are rare among them. Assaults of varying degrees of severity, mostly minor ones, are another problem that *Tai-paus* cause the community. These incidents of assault are frequently caused by intra-group conflicts or conflicts with non-*Tai-pau* students. Most of the serious assaults result from rivalries between different groups of *Tai-paus*. The members are required to follow the code of the group which was determined by mutual agreement. Loyalty to the group is emphasized, and toughness is regarded as a virtue ; the toughest boy usually becomes the leader. Thus, when they form a group, *Tai-paus* test the toughness of members of the group and also of the leader by taking advantage of non-*Tai-pau* students, teasing adults, fighting with other groups of *Tai-paus* or defying policemen by disregarding laws and regulations of various kinds. Smartness is judged by ability in practical jokes, making sarcastic remarks, driving, dancing, stealing without being caught, etc. Conflicts between groups or with local police are the main cause for the frequent change of nests, and also account for the change of leadership in a group. This frequent change of nests, membership, and leadership makes the cohesion of each group loose and transient, and loyalty to groups is weakened despite their strong attraction. It is not uncommon for one group of *Tai-paus* to change their nest once in three months and to have members almost totally replaced by new ones in six months.

The majority of *Liu-mangs* are residents of the old sections of cities and small towns described above, and are mostly from lower or lower middle class families. Their education seldom goes beyond the primary stage and the ages range from 10 or 12 to 20 or more. While many of them are engaged in various odd jobs, *e.g.* unskilled workers, bicycle mechanics, shine-boys, shop attendants, pedlars of candy or other foods, etc., a good number of them have no work at all. They are frequently seen chatting, playing Chinese chess or gambling in groups of various sizes in or around market places or temples day and night. The most organized public activities of these *Liu-mangs* are occasions of ceremonies or festivals of temples in the areas where they live. They take pride in helping their elders plan, organize, prepare and participate in activities of the temple. The collection of contributions for the temple, selling of *Chu-fu* (equivalent of amulets which would be used for the protection of the individual or

family against diseases and evils), the performances of dragon dances are their favourite volunteer work. Thus, each group has more or less close affiliation with a temple, sometimes several small groups having common affiliation with one temple. These small groups form a larger group. Loyalty, regardless of the size of the group, stands above everything and group discipline is often very strict, ranging from beating to lynching or ostracism. The practice of *Hsueh-ming* (blood-bond) is a good example of their determined faithfulness to each other. This consists of an oath in front of the god of a temple through sipping the blood of a cock and the members swear their eternal loyalty to the extent of sacrificing their lives for one another. These boys call each other ' *Chi-pai brothers* '. They also decide the order of position of each member in the group and this order has to be strictly observed. While inter-group rivalry and conflicts exist at all levels, the members readily obey the order or judgment of the leader in the hierarchy. These leaders are professional *Liu-mangs* and they have a strong voice in communal affairs through connections with temples and elders. They also have a strong grip on the economic affairs of the area by having the subordinate *Liu-mangs* as agents, particularly in illegal activities such as prostitution, gambling, trading of stolen goods, black-marketing, and narcotic peddling. These leaders of *Liu-mangs* are frequently criminals with long records and there is usually one person, or a small group of people even, above them with the controlling power when there is a serious inter-group conflict or trouble with authorities. The subordinate *Liu-mangs* are most dutiful in their relations with their leaders, in observing their orders and the moral code of the peer, while maintaining their own living through legal and illegal means.

The behaviour of *Tai-pau* expressed in their disregard of order and authority, contempt of traditional life patterns, and imitation of Western types of vulgarism causes concern and a feeling of disgrace to parents and teachers rather than a problem to the police. They only occasionally get involved with legal authorities. They are a kind of alien and disturbing group of moral concern to the community, and occasionally even hailed as ' cute kids ' by some adults. Their group activities create little effect on the whole community except for the alarming psychological impact. The relationship of *Liu-mang* to the community is of a different nature. Their behaviour is rooted in the traditional pattern of life and their group structure is intimately interwoven with that of the community. Their respect for and co-operation in community affairs at festivals has a strengthening effect on this tie. Furthermore, their lawful and unlawful activities in a group contribute something to their family and community

in terms of economic gain or (in the old days) in offering a kind of defence against outsiders. Their contempt for Western and modern life expressed by their preference for native costume, hostility to Western religious practices, dislike of Western music and so on, was often hailed by the elders. But the illegal activities committed by them in connection with prostitution, gambling, narcotic handling, and the crimes of assault which are mostly related to rivalry, money and women, make them despised and feared by people who are not related to them. Especially the leaders of *Liu-mangs* who mostly have long criminal records are under constant surveillance by the authorities.

The following table is a summary of the differences between these two groups in terms of socio-cultural background, group behaviour, and group organization.

	Liu-mang	*Tai-pau*
SOCIO-CULTURAL BACKGROUND		
Historical	Traditional	New
Geographical	Old sections in cities and small towns	Modern theatre and amusement centres in big cities
Age	Wider range from 10 or 12 to early adult, high concentration in 14 to 18 years	Predominantly between 14 and 18 years
Living	Residents of same area	Of same or differing areas
Educational	Not beyond primary level	Middle school students and the unsuccessful
Occupational	Unemployed or taking odd jobs for earning own living	Not working ; many still in school
Social class	Lower and lower middle	Middle and upper
GROUP BEHAVIOUR		
Appearance	Indistinguishable from traditional	Student dress with frequent Western emphasis, *i.e.*, jeans, aloha shirts, etc.
Participation in community affairs	Interest in temple and festival activities	No interest in traditional affairs
Favourite activities	Native games, drinking, gambling	Modern recreations, cars, movies, dances, etc.
Antisocial behaviour	More organized, persistent and skilful	Sporadic, play-like
Variability	Less variable, behaviour transmitted to next generation.	Variable according to outside circumstances

ORGANIZATION		
Size	Large, range from 10 or 20 to 100, infrequently over 100	Small, 3 or 4 to 10
Membership	Boys only, more constant	Both boys and girls, rapid turn-over
Structure	Highly structured and long term	Vaguely defined and of short duration
Loyalty	Absolute loyalty	Loyalty relative in time and degree
Group discipline	Severe : beating, ostracism	Less severe
Community relations	Infiltration	Isolated

INTERACTION BETWEEN THE TWO GROUPS

Owing to the separate geographic distribution and difference in favourite activities the majority of members of both groups have little contact with each other. To *Liu-mangs* the *Tai-paus* represent ' play-boys ', ' leisure seekers ', ' funny looking guys '. The *Tai-paus* look upon the *Liu-mangs* as a potential threat, as people whom they should keep peace with or avoid, quite often, however, not without feeling superior to them because of the latter's ignorance and lack of skill in modern life and recreation.

Wherever and whenever the two groups meet, either physically or psychologically, in terms of interest and benefit, they show intense response to each other. They may become co-operative, with the feeling of comrades, when they are forced to form a common front against a third party or when they find it beneficial in pursuing some concrete objectives. When the situation which calls for co-operation is over, however, the two groups separate again as before. If occasions calling for co-operation frequently occur between a group of *Liu-mangs* and of *Tai-paus*, more or less permanent relationships may be established between them. In this case, *Tai-paus* usually become an affiliated sub-group of *Liu-mangs* or *Tai-paus* dissolve their group and join *Liu-mangs*. The reverse of the process of regrouping rarely takes place.

The *Liu-mangs* and *Tai-paus* can be highly competitive in their relationship, without being either co-operative or antagonistic. One finds this sort of relationship between the two groups when they have some sporty fun. For example, they may compete in the number of goods they can steal to show their smartness and toughness. This kind of relationship is usually seen between *Tai-paus* and junior members of *Liu-mang* only, the senior members of *Liu-mang* being rarely involved. It should also be added that this competitive relationship is transient in most cases.

The most frequently observed relationship and the one which bears strong social significance is that of antagonism between two groups. Quite

often the conflict starts from a trifling argument or accidental neglect of the moral code or some misunderstanding of members of two groups and ends in grave group fighting, violence, assault or chronic interchange of revenge. The outcome of these conflicts tends to be one of the following : (*a*) the defeat and dissolution of *Tai-pau* ; (*b*) the defeat of *Tai-pau* and their assimilation by *Liu-mang* ; or (*c*) the defeat of *Tai-pau* who call for help from another group of *Liu-mang*, and ensuing conflicts between two *Liu-mang* groups. Among the three, the last one, although rare, is the gravest outcome.

The strength of *Liu-mang* over *Tai-pau* as a group is quite obvious while the latter is constantly under the threat of being dissolved or assimilated by the former. The former is not only self-perpetuating but also increases by absorbing the latter. It should be added that not all the *Tai-paus* belonging to a group which has been defeated become *Liu-mangs*. Only a small fraction of them, mostly the leaders or those with a long history, become *Liu-mangs*. The rest find it too different or threatening to become *Liu-mangs*, and either form another group of *Tai-pau* or separate themselves from the peers entirely. The distinction between the two groups is often blurred because of the above-mentioned interaction, transformation, and assimilation of the groups. Furthermore, one often finds that the *Liu-mang* gradually adopts some of the *Tai-pau's* behaviour or enjoys similar pleasurable activities on the one hand, and that the *Tai-pau* uses the *Liu-mang's* own language. This blurring of the distinction, however, does not necessarily abolish the practical and categorical differentiation of the two groups.

Cases

Case 1. L. H. L., 27-year-old male, unskilled labourer. Born as the oldest son of a family of six siblings, he had to leave school at the third grade and help his father in pulling a car or selling ice-cream on the street. He was described as an intelligent, obedient, good-natured boy. He found the duties that he was expected to perform at home tedious and exhausting ; his mother busily took care of the house and six children while father worked day and night to earn their living. He was constantly given something to do at home, taking care of the youngsters, sweeping the floor, shopping, watching the fire of the oven, etc. At the age of 10 to 11, he began to seek pleasure outside, in association with neighbourhood boys. The favourite things for them were to play Chinese chess, watch outdoor Chinese plays, eating, if any one of the group had money, near and around the market places or temples. The festival season of the temple was their happiest time. By helping with odd jobs in the temple they could get some money or food, and best of all it was a good excuse for him to be away from home or work. The association with the gang and the temple developed subsequent to his joining the band of Dragon dancers. Since this membership

represented privilege and honour, he devoted himself to the activities of the gang with enthusiasm. He worked or helped father at home irregularly, parents complained, cursed or occasionally beat him, but could not stop him from going out. At the age of 16, he became a member of ' *Chi-pai* brothers '. His father forced him to take up a job as a grocery storekeeper, but he did not hold it more than three months. He changed his job more than ten times in the next three years. During this period he was frequently seen in bars, gambling houses, houses of prostitution, etc. Once he was caught stealing a hand-bag in a theatre and jailed for three months. His police records multiplied as he stole, fought and blackmailed. From being a ' constant ' member of a *Liu-mang* group, he rose to being their leader. Then he joined in narcotic peddling and became an addict himself. He lived by selling drugs, by contributions from his subordinates and by some shares in a house of prostitution. He was caught finally as an addict and sent for treatment. The following are some of his words about his life : ' tough life at home ', ' poor parents who had to work hard ', ' unfair for him to work while other children go to school and play ', ' wonderful to have buddies who are like you ', ' these people in the temple were really nice ; they gave us what we wanted most—they respect you '. ' What's wrong with stealing? the rich people are worse liars and thieves.' ' Done thing to fool all those policemen.' ' Any organization in selling the drug? . . . By no means, Doc, you think I should say yes?! No, I did it all by myself.' (Actually he just did not want to reveal the other names of his gang.) ' Do you ask me what sort of job I like? Doc, you tell me the kind of job which will make me feel secure to hold on to. I don't know anything else I can do. I just ought to be smart enough not to be caught next time, I think.'

Case 2. T. S. H., 22-year-old male. The eldest son of a reputable banker who was interested in education and religion. His mother was a painter, busy and good at social activities. Family life was described as being very religious and happy and discipline was strict. He did well in primary school, but failed to win admission to the middle school which his father chose for him, having to enter an inferior one. He started truanting and spending extravagantly at the third year. Beside his monthly stipend from father, he asked for and received a considerable amount of money from his mother, unknown to his father. Father often called him and other children, separately or together, and preached to them the need to study to become a successful person in the community and the importance of spiritual purity. He concealed all the poor marks at school from his father but was occasionally caught, with ensuing severe punishment. He was only allowed to read moral stories, classic novels and music. Jazz, movies (unless accompanied) and dancing belonged to the prohibited activities. He started frequenting the amusement districts, smoking and drinking. When this was known to his father, he was severely punished and the regulation of his activities became more strict. He had a younger sister who was a favourite of his father, because she was both good at school and at painting. This made him feel more unwanted. He stopped talking to his father, only answering briefly any questions put to him. This was followed by brief absences from the native city for a few days each time. During these, he played, gambled, drank, entertained friends, danced, etc. Every occasion was followed by punishment by the father and also

by the payment of fabulous expenses by the mother. He became well known to the *Tai-pau* group as a good dancer, generous entertainer and gay companion. He stole a few things from home, but never stole outside. He borrowed money from relatives or friends and the debt was always paid by his mother. His contact with one group of *Tai-paus* seldom lasted longer than three months. When he had money in his pocket, he assumed a temporary leadership in his peer group. He seldom fought alone and occasionally only as a member of the group. On these occasions, he fought bravely, but often regretted his deeds afterwards. He managed, or rather his father managed to enable him to graduate from the middle school and come to Taipei to study in an inferior college. He never liked to study and spent all his time seeking pleasure. He said : ' It would be nice if I could succeed in getting through the college as my dad wishes.' ' I know I should study hard and I shouldn't play too much.' ' I don't know why I joined these *Tai-paus*. Maybe I just wanted company.' ' Dad is always right, but too right, I suppose, that I can't follow him.' ' You know when one can't do what one is supposed to do, one gets angry at oneself.' ' Occasionally I despise myself and also my dad. Maybe I shouldn't. I often felt guilty in hating my dad.' ' The best time I've had was when I danced and played with friends, forgetting all other things.' ' I never did anything illegal, so I am not afraid of the police. But I like to fool them, it's fun. I feel like fooling my dad also, but he is such a respectable man.'

Case 3. L.Y.P., 23 years. He was born to a wealthy merchant family by a concubine. The family lived in an old section of the city. He was treated differently in many ways from the rest of the siblings who belonged to the first wife. He did not do well at school and more pressure was put on him to get good marks. His leisure time was spent in playing games at home since he was not allowed to play outside with neighbourhood boys. He managed to enter a middle school of poor reputation. Truancy, smoking and fighting immediately became his habit and his father was very annoyed by his behaviour. More restriction was imposed on his daily life with little effect in improving his behaviour. He became a leader of a *Tai-pau* group and was regarded a ' smart and tough guy ' by his gang. He took much pride in demonstrating his skill in stealing, defying authority, making fun of girls and catching any opportunity he found appropriate to create troubles. This, and the geographical proximity, caused him and his group a serious conflict with the local *Liu-mangs*. After many trifling but tense conflicts, he joined the *Liu-mangs* as a member with a couple of his *Tai-paus*. The rest of the *Tai-paus* did not wish to follow him. Upon his entering the *Liu-mang* group, he was forced to dip his cigarette into white powder (heroin or morphine) before smoking.[3] This ritual—so he explained—was practised as a test of the willingness of the newcomer to do ' everything ' the others did. He naturally became addicted and did ' everything ' the others did—gambling, frequenting prostitutes, stealing, fighting and drug peddling. The following are excerpts of

[3] This practice of dipping into ' white powder ' might have been an isolated incident that was peculiar only to the group to which this boy belonged. It is, however, probable that this practice, although not widespread, did exist in some other groups. The consumption of heroin in Formosa has been greatly reduced as a result of measures taken by the Government in recent years.

his statements about his own life : ' Life at home? No fun at all. I feel sorry for my mother, though. She and I were always discriminated against.' ' The only thing they care for is the reputation or " face ", not my personal needs or feeling.' ' Teachers at school are just like my father ; they don't understand, they ask you things that are impossible.' ' The kids (*Tai-paus*) are cute. We had a lot of fun.' ' They respect you when you are tough and smart. Is there anyone who does not care to be popular? ' ' Why I joined the gang (*Liu-mang*)?! Once you are a member you are theirs, you are safe. They treat you better than anyone in my family, except for my mother ; she is a poor thing.' ' They *trust* you.' ' Do I want to go back home?! Well, I don't think so—I may though, if they change their attitude and don't interfere with my business.' ' It would be a good thing to have a steady job. Is there any? ' ' Marriage? Do you think that I will get settled and sit tight at home by marriage? It would be a good thing, but I doubt it.' ' Policemen?! You ought to know how to deal with them. They can be very nice occasionally. If they find you too tough to deal with, they'll let you go, but when you go too far, then you'll have bad luck.' ' Are you asking whether or not I believe in fortune or destiny? Of course. Human life is gambling throughout. Don't you think so? A child has already gambled when he comes into the world ; if he wins, he is born to nice parents with a nice home. If he loses, he is born to a poor family. Everything that follows thereafter cannot change the course too much. You call it destiny, don't you?'

Discussion

With all these differences, *Tai-pau* and *Liu-mang* possess essential features in common. The demonstrative, antagonistic and aggressive behaviour, the formation of groups outside their families with strong emphasis on group autonomy, conformity and loyalty, and the defiant attitude to authority figures ; these features are the characteristics of adolescent behaviour—or, we may say, adolescent subculture—and are not undesirable or delinquent by nature and in a majority of instances. They are expressions of the psychological and social needs of adolescents in the process of maturation toward achieving independence and should be regarded as non-pathological in so far as they remain within the limit of what is customarily expected of adolescent behaviour in each culture. This normal or culturally accepted element in their behaviour is well illustrated by the observation that *Tai-paus* are hailed as ' cute kids ' by some adults and that *Liu-mangs*' participation in communal affairs is regarded as ' helpful ' by elders. This observation applies particularly to the activities of new members or newly formed groups of either *Tai-pau* or *Liu-mang*. In so far as they transgress the limits of customarily accepted adolescent cultural norms then their behaviour may be described as delinquent. This delinquent element is an expression of the exaggerated anti-social and menacing reaction of adolescents in response to environmental stress.

Though adolescence has its own unique behaviour patterns (adolescent subculture), the behaviour of the individual adolescent is strongly influenced by his past experiences, in particular the relationship with parents. An adolescent still carries his own system of values, rôle, attitude, conception of self acquired mostly through contact with his parents or substitutes who function as the carriers of the culture to which they belong. The difference in behaviour between groups of *Tai-pau* and *Liu-mang* is partly due to the existence of differing subcultures in current Chinese society.

The traditional dichotomy in Chinese society—privileged scholars versus under-privileged illiterates—further enhances the difference in attitude of the two groups towards Western culture. The families of *Liu-mangs* are uneducated and therefore have little or only casual contact with modern Western culture. They regard Western culture and people equipped with it as a threat to their existence and therefore they retreat and hold on to that conventional way of life which has traditionally provided the means of their existence. Thus they have an 'ethno-centric' system of values and little interest in change. They emphasize the traditional system of interdependence in Chinese society, such as Tang—surname association—or affiliation with the temple.

Modern Western technology and culture can only be learned through education and it is only the privileged classes in Chinese society who have the opportunity of education and consequently of contact with the West. The parents of *Tai-paus* belong to this privileged class. They are representative of a subculture in which modern technology, management and the Western way of life are highly valued. Thus, unlike the parents of *Liu-mangs* their system of values and their expectations for their children are what may be called ' ethno-eccentric ', and emphasize ' progressive change of society ' and ' personal achievement '.

It is seen then that the differences of behaviour between *Tai-paus* and *Liu-mangs* in appearance, participation in communal affairs and favoured activities reflect the transmitted subcultural differences of their families. *Tai-paus* are less rooted in the community because of their valued emphasis on changes, while *Liu-mangs* stick to conventional life and show little inclination to accept changes. For *Tai-paus*, the peer group seems to provide some feeling of pride in demonstrating their privileged way of life as well as a means of escape from stresses. For *Liu-mangs*, the peer group acts more as a means of security and protection against threat. One important way in which this difference of subcultural origin is displayed in the families of the two groups is the attitude of the parents to the adolescent. Parents of *Tai-paus* are themselves extremely anxious and insecure because of their own anomalous position in an ever-changing culture. The rapid changes

of values and goals in their culture put them in a situation similar to first generation immigrants. They therefore tend to develop compensatory rigid attitudes toward moral standards or higher expectations of achievement from their children. Similarly, the relationship of their children to them is that of second generation immigrants. To their parents they react with revolt and disregard. This attitude aggravates the parental lack of tolerance to behaviour deviating from the expected norm, and thus a vicious circle is formed which drives the children to escape into the peer group. Parents of *Liu-mangs* expect little of their children except for more or less physical work in earning a living. Deviant behaviour of children causes slight concern so long as no trouble occurs. This difference of parental attitude toward deviant behaviour of adolescents may explain the fact that *Tai-paus* cause more trouble to their own families with feeling of guilt while *Liu-mangs*' antagonistic behaviour is directed more against outsiders.

Difference in degree of intimacy and duration of contacts with existing adult delinquent groups in the community—delinquent subculture—also plays an important rôle in the difference between *Tai-pau* and *Liu-mang*. The outward behaviour, criminal activities, strong group cohesion, hierarchic structure and intimate community relations of *Liu-mang*—all these indicate their similarities with adult delinquent groups. The adult delinquent group may be regarded as a continuation of the adolescent one into adulthood. The behaviour and structure of the adolescent group are influenced by the adult delinquent group which thus indoctrinates adolescents into adult patterns of delinquency. The distinction between these two is one of degree. The relationship of *Tai-paus* to adult delinquent subculture is casual and less intimate. Fewer *Tai-paus* become members of this group, any transition of this kind being drastic and qualitative. The majority of *Tai-paus* form independent small peer groups which are less integrated to the community.

The difference in female participation with peer activities between *Tai-pau* and *Liu-mang* can be regarded again as reflecting the differing subcultural attitude toward female status. Though small in number, a few girls (*Tai-mei*) mingle with *Tai-pau* peer groups. These girls may occupy powerful positions in the group. Sexual irregularities among boys and girls which contradict the traditional moral code of the middle class society are occasionally reported. No girls participate in *Liu-mangs*' activities publicly, but *Liu-mangs* frequent houses of prostitution or bars. Prostitutes often become mistresses of leaders of *Liu-mangs* later and join with the adult delinquent groups. In other words, while more free and public participation of females is occasionally observed among *Tai-paus*, as is often seen in

modern society, the traditional attitude of male dominance prevails among *Liu-mangs*.

Two types of peer groups in current Chinese society, therefore, should be regarded as caused by differing reactions of adolescents to the two existing subcultures which have been brought about by modernization or contacts with modern Western culture. Each possesses the characteristic features of its own matrix subculture in terms of behaviour, attitude and structure. Similar phenomena were observed in Japan before the war where *Mobo* and *Moga* (modern boys and modern girls)—equivalent of *Tai-pau* and *Tai-mei*—were differentiated from *Yakuza* or *Yota*, equivalent of *Liu-mang*. I do not know whether or not this phenomenon is universal in Eastern countries or other countries where subcultural divisions exist. If so, one may term the group of *Tai-pau* as ' modern ', ' Westernized ' or ' uprooted peer ', and the same applies to the matrix subculture to which each belongs. The situation in Japan has radically changed after the war. The recent epidemic of menacing delinquent adolescents called ' *Taiyozoku* '[4] seems to signify a large body of seriously uprooted subculture.

One may even go a step further in viewing the relative number and strength of two peers as reflecting the relationship of ' modern ' and ' traditional ' subcultures in a given society. The recent and rapid increase of *Tai-paus* in Taiwan may be regarded as a sign of the growing ' modern ' and ' uprooted ' subculture—mainly due to post-war urbanization and modernization. The relative persistence and dominance of *Liu-mangs*, however, seem to indicate the existence of still strong traditional culture.

[4] ' *Taiyozoku* ' is translated ' Sun race ', originally the name of a group of adolescents in a novel which was feverishly welcomed by youths, and the epidemic of *Taiyozoku*-like peer behaviour started.

CAR THIEVES [1]

By T. C. N. GIBBENS (London)

The theft of cars, and especially ' taking and driving away without the owner's consent ' for the sake of joy-riding, is a crime of the times and perhaps destined to be one of the most important forms of nuisance. In the United States it has long been a problem, and in Scandinavian cities it has recently become serious enough to be made the subject of several conferences. In England the national criminal statistics do not allow a clear picture of the state of affairs. In 1955 in England and Wales (1) there were 4,414 thefts of motor vehicles (including 152 ' attempts ') known to the police (indictable offences) : 4,264 motor vehicles were stolen ; of these 2,762 were reported to be recovered during the year. At the same time, 5,869 persons were dealt with either for theft or for taking a motor vehicle without consent. The Metropolitan Police statistics, however, give a clearer picture, and show some of the difficulties in classifying this type of offence. In London (2), if a motor vehicle alleged to have been stolen is recovered within 48 hours, the case is not classed as larceny unless someone is charged with the larceny of the vehicle. Where a vehicle is driven away merely to facilitate the theft of goods or fittings from it, the case is treated as one of larceny from, not of, the vehicle. In 1955, 2,474 motor vehicles were stolen ; 1,919 were recovered. In addition, 5,805 motor vehicles were taken and driven away without their owners' consent and were found abandoned in 48 hours ; 1,349 of these had their fittings or contents stolen. The total number stolen or driven away in London alone was therefore 8,279 ; 849 arrests for larceny of motor vehicles were made.

[1] This study was made possible by a grant from the research fund of The Bethlem Royal Hospital and the Maudsley Hospital. It is published with the consent of the Prison Commission ; but consent does not imply that it represents their views. I am grateful for the help of Dr. Snell, of the Prison Commission, and to Miss Massee at the Institute of Psychiatry.

TABLE I

'Takings' of Motor Vehicles Known to the Police per 100,000 *of Population*

City	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954
Göteborg . . .	235·5	344·3	375·2	318·7	717·4
Helsingfors . .	41·4	37·8	50·3	49·6	46·7
Copenhagen* . .	148·1	180·4	199·2	237·3	235·9
London . . .	59·8	88·5	86·6	87·3	85·4
Malmö	159·3	313·1	209·6	291·1	570·2
Oslo	80·2	134·1	128·5	170·9	168·9
Stockholm . . .	397·0	478·1	437·9	523·3	741·9

*Excluding motor cycles

Table I shows the number of motor vehicles known to the police as 'taken' in London and some Scandinavian cities in recent years (3). The rate in Swedish cities is very high, but the trends observed are rather puzzling. From the social point of view one naturally tends to ask whether the increasing density of vehicles and acceptance of them by the younger generation as one of the natural conditions of life is responsible for the increase, or whether a rapid *rate* of increase in car population introduces a special stimulus. In Sweden the number of vehicles has risen very rapidly from one vehicle per 20 persons in 1950 to one per 10 persons in 1955. In London, on the other hand, the stability of the figures for 'takings' might even be interpreted as a steady improvement, since for Great Britain as a whole the density of vehicles has risen from about one per 11 persons in 1951 to one per 8 or 9 in 1955. If one assumes that this ratio applies to London, then 0·85 vehicles taken away per 1,000 of population represents about 1 per cent. of vehicles taken away annually.

These enquiries were prompted by the observation that, among lads committed to Borstal from the London area, the proportion with convictions for taking cars rose sharply in some recent years, and that those with offences of this kind showed interesting clinical differences from the others. In 1953 and 1955 every other lad sentenced to Borstal training in the Metropolitan Police area was interviewed and tested, and a home visit was made by a psychiatric social worker in addition to the visits made by the authorities. A sample of 100 lads was seen in 1953 and 100 in 1955. It was found that in 1953 only 14 per cent. had convictions at any time for stealing or taking away motor vehicles, but that the proportion rose to 25 per cent. in 1955 and included for the first time a few lads whose offences were largely confined to this sort of activity.

These car thieves showed interesting differences both in personality and social background, and the present object is to show how these factors interact in a particular group of offenders. The difficulty of the psychiatric approach is that it is often not possible to devise objective measures which are capable of proof or disproof. In order to be as objective as possible, the 39 lads with motor vehicle offences were contrasted with the remainder in respect of 94 factors in the social and criminal history of a sort which are familiar in criminological analysis. The motor vehicle thieves had the following features in order of statistical significance :

	χ^2	P
Never in approved school or non-delinquent institution	5·52	0·02
Living with both parents	4·92	0·05
Parents living together	4·14	0·05
Father unstable or mentally abnormal	3·96	0·05
History of hospitalization for three months	3·46	0·1 n.s.
History of neurotic symptoms	3·01	0·1 n.s.
Fourth or later position in family	3·01	0·1 n.s.
Five or more previous convictions	2·99	0·1 n.s.
Five or more siblings	2·89	0·1 n.s.

It is fairly clear, therefore, that these lads tended to come from intact homes, to be probably the later members of large families, and to have reached Borstal after several convictions for which they were not sent away, probably because they seemed to have ' good ' homes and to be hopeful cases for probation. There was also an interesting indication that they had more often had neurotic symptoms. There was no evidence, however, that they were less seriously delinquent, or, as a group, had a better prognosis than others. The Mannheim and Wilkins prediction score (4) was calculated for each lad. The mean score for car thieves was 25·76, not significantly different from 26·51 for the remainder.

There are several varieties of car-stealing. The commonest variety is simple joy-riding in which, nearly always, three or four lads ' borrow ' a car for the evening and abandon it when it runs out of petrol. A visit to Southend occurred rather often ; 27 of the 39 were of this type. Secondly, in six cases the theft was associated with the commission of other crimes. There were no cases in which the car was an essential element in a planned crime such as housebreaking. Sometimes the fittings of the car were stolen ; sometimes a van was stolen for joy-riding and subsequently found to have

an interesting cargo which was distributed to friends (*e.g.* a van-load of biscuits) ; and sometimes one thing led to another and, after the vehicle had run out of petrol, a garage was broken into or money stolen from a house to get home. The less delinquent members of such a gang are in an awkward position in having the choice between walking home and taking part in housebreaking. In three cases, which are not at all characteristic of the group as a whole, the theft was for the purpose of absconding. Lastly, there was a small group (three cases) where theft was accompanied by a genuine and professional zeal to learn to drive, as in Case I. Surprisingly, few of the whole group ever took up work in a garage, and although consideration is usually given to the possibility of giving them a course in ' motor mechanics ' in Borstal as a way of socializing their interest, few take it up or stay the course if they do. This is also reported to be the case in Swedish Borstals (5).

Case I. Age 19. I.Q. 72. He played truant a great deal when evacuated and when attending an E.S.N. day school. At 11 he was convicted of larceny and sent to an E.S.N. residential school. When just under 17 he indecently assaulted a little girl and was certified defective, but repeatedly absconded in protest and a year later was decertified and sentenced to eight months' imprisonment for shopbreaking. He developed a passion for driving, and had several jobs as lorry driver's mate, or driving a mechanized hoist. At 18 he was fined and disqualified for driving a lorry—' I was trying to get my judgment '—and sent to Borstal, and disqualified for four years a month later for taking a four-ton furniture van—' I was trying out my judgment in dodgy village streets.' He appears to have driven quite well. He was on good terms with both parents ; was reported to be over-attached to his mother who would never agree he had done wrong ; but he spoke more warmly of his father, a long-distance lorry driver who was said to have been in prison once for car-thieving. He had a girl-friend for a time, but she jilted him just before his last two offences.

Only one of the lads, with five convictions for car-stealing, was free from other offences against property ; but 11 had more than one conviction for car-thieving (4 three times, 6 twice). Such recidivism is probably very unusual. In Oslo, at least, the extensive police material showed that only 15 per cent. of arrested car thief youths had previous convictions for this offence (5).

A question of some interest is whether these car thieves are dangerous drivers. At the 1955 meeting of Scandinavian criminologists the view was expressed that they were good drivers, and chases by the police were deplored as tending to precipitate serious accidents. Yet, in a recent French study (6), they were referred to as ' of all drivers, those most liable to cause accidents '. The situation is certainly doubtful if the thief has been drinking, which seems characteristic only of the older group. In this series,

seven cars (18 per cent.) were involved in accidents, only one as a result of a police car chase. Four of the lads had been drinking at the time. Yet car thieves are very unlikely to be caught unless they draw attention to themselves by some accident, breakdown, or minor traffic violation, so that such incidents are common in those who are arrested. The impression was that they were quite careful if unskilled drivers. The question has some bearing upon the almost invariable sentence of disqualification. No doubt there are serious legal difficulties with regard to insurance and compensation claims, but the rationale of disqualification is not always clear. From the point of view of rehabilitation, of course, it is a handicap, and several lads who joined the R.A.S.C. found themselves debarred from turning their interest to a useful purpose. The overwhelming majority of those arrested for larceny of cars are aged 16, 17 or 18 (2).

Wattenberg (7) in a paper entitled ' Automobile Theft : a Favoured Group Delinquency ', studied the social characteristics of 230 automobile thieves among 2,774 white delinquents aged 10–16 in Detroit. Statistically reliable differences were that the car-thieves tended to come from relatively more favoured neighbourhoods of the city, to be in the older age group (*i.e.* 16), and to have good social relations with peers. They were less often ' lone wolves ' than others and more often members of gangs ' with a reputation for rambunctious behaviour '. The general thesis that car thieving is a ' favoured group ' form of delinquency is true of English delinquents, but with interesting differences. Wattenberg's criterion for the opinion that the neighbourhoods were ' more favoured ' was that they were rated as such by the police. In England we have some difficulty in deciding whether an area is ' more favoured ' since many of the new housing estates must be regarded as heavily delinquent areas. But even a cursory glance at the map shows that the Borstal car thieves very often lived in older, overcrowded, highly-delinquent areas. When the thirty-three cases with London addresses were allocated to the six socio-economic areas defined by the 1951 Census Volume on conurbations (8), they were disposed as follows : I. Central administration area, 0 ; II. High-density old residential and industrial dock-side areas, 22 ; III. Dense residential areas mostly pre-1914, 2 ; IV. ' Hampstead type ' areas, 1 ; V. Newer residential and industrial suburban areas, 6 ; VI. Outer rural-residential fringe, 2. Wattenberg's thesis that they are a ' favoured group ' is borne out, not because they live in favoured areas, but because they have intact and affectionate homes. It is surprisingly uncommon for severely deprived youths to commit this offence, perhaps because they tend to establish a pattern of stealing money, etc., before puberty gives them the urge to joy-ride.

Clinically, the car thieves stand out from the usual run of Borstal lads in that the offence is more often of the ' neurotic ' type, in the sense that the crime has a symbolic significance and is unconsciously motivated from several sources, especially sexual ones. This is of course not surprising since the motive must necessarily be to obtain a ' thrill ' or ' excitement '. In the simplest cases the joy-riding is of the common ' proving ' type, in which an overprotected lad from a ' good ' home commits an offence to prove his masculinity. The close relationship with the mother induces a sense of guilt when sexual feelings emerge in adolescence ; this for a time diverts him from his true sexual objective, but he returns to it later when he has established his independence by a period of revolt which occasionally spills over into antisocial behaviour. The daring act represents a bid for independence, and the car provides a feeling of power in which he feels so lacking: for this reason motor cycles offer an appeal only to much younger boys ; the present group nearly always chose cars. In truly neurotic cases which tend to be more repetitive, solitary, and near-compulsive, the criminal activity is more completely substitutive. The situation is of course more serious with perhaps a father who is actually very severe or at least sufficiently so to lend colour to the boy's view of his father as a jealous and avenging figure. In the severest cases, as Schmideberg (9) has pointed out, the object comes to resemble the fetish of the sexual pervert. Guttmacher (10), in his book upon sexual offences, has referred to this sex-substitute quality in youthful motoring offences. Repetitiveness is one of the important features and, to a lesser extent, solitariness. They commonly start by stealing a car by themselves, but soon find the need to show off their skill to friends, even when the activity did not start as gang behaviour. A tendency to make arrest almost inevitable also distinguishes the more disturbed youths.

The following case exemplifies the neurotic type of car thief :

Case II. Age 17·3. Average intelligence. Eldest of five children. The father is a respectable, intelligent man who used to be a bus driver, but changed to being a butcher when his wife complained of the irregular hours of work. The paternal grandmother had a mental illness. The father was brought up in a children's home, and was harshly treated, but he very much enjoyed his subsequent life in the army. He is a disciplinarian with rigid views. The mother married when she was 18 and the husband 19. Her brother was in a mental hospital. She had a happy home life and sees her relations frequently, but for six years she has been under treatment for nervous symptoms, including dizzy spells, is unable to be at home by herself and can only manage her anxiety by being in full-time employment. She is excessively permissive and blames herself for everything the children do wrong. After the birth of the patient the father was away in the army for seven years, during which the mother and grandmother lavished affection on the

child, who developed a strong attachment to her. On his return the father put a stop to this and he appeared resentful and jealous of the mother's affection for her children. At about this time the boy had psychiatric treatment, he thinks for fear of the dark. At 11 he was bound over for larceny of toys and was on probation at 12 for stealing money. At 15·2 he stole a motor cycle and was sent to a hostel on probation and received a good report. Until 15 he had been keen at sports, but after puberty his interest and general liveliness declined ; he became secretive, mixed with undesirable boys and would not say where he was going. At 16 he became lethargic, lazy, lost his appetite and had a fainting attack which was diagnosed as possibly epilepsy. Just before 17 he stole a car and drove to the seaside : he left it near his house and next day took two people on a ride to the seaside and was arrested on return. He was placed on probation, but two months later was again arrested for stealing a van. He drove three of his friends to the seaside, went to work in the van next day and was caught by the owner. He has a very fair work record and wishes to be a butcher (like his father). He goes around with a group of friends, one of whom has a car. He ' just seems to get the urge for cars '. He says his mother advises him to get a girl, but he is not interested in girls and not attracted by them : they are all gold-diggers. He will never marry. His mother has been tied down with children and he expects she regrets having married. The parents have a superior, well-kept home and are deeply concerned for his welfare. He is attached to both parents and says that they get on well together.

The situation is usually not demonstrable in such a clear-cut form, especially among Borstal boys who would not normally receive a sentence of this sort without a history of other types of acquisitive offence. It was a surprise to find that a small group of lads with only one or two convictions for car-thefts, among other crimes, should show reliable statistical differences from those without such a conviction. These differences, which were listed earlier, do not suggest the solitary, middle-class boy, but rather the subcultural delinquent from a delinquent area, with many siblings and gang association. In the majority of these cases several lads go joy-riding together, even if the car is first stolen alone. In practice, these car thieves present every combination of individual and subcultural factors. In delinquent areas it merely needs less of the requisite psychological disturbance to produce the crime.

In his stimulating book about the social aspects of delinquency (11), Professor Cohen has recently analysed the characteristics of the delinquent subculture from which so many juvenile and young adult offenders against property emerge, a subculture which consists in many respects of a denial of the attitude to status which characterizes the middle-class, or the ' respectable ' working-class which is seeking to achieve middle-class status. He asks finally whether there is any crime characteristic of the middle-class and concludes that there is one example—car-stealing. In this connection

he refers to a little-known paper of Talcott Parsons (12) which described social as well as psychological reasons for certain middle-class attitudes. Talcott Parsons pointed out that the middle-class family is small and physically more isolated from its neighbours, so that the members are less immediately aware of other family patterns ; that the father usually travels some distance to work (*e.g.* in an office) which is not readily understood by young children who rarely see examples of other fathers working at similar tasks. The young boy is brought up in a much closer and more exclusive relationship with his mother, with whom he must principally identify. In later school age he has to abandon this identification in favour of masculine rôles, and his anti-feminine and ' anti-cissy ' attitudes have all the intensity of a reaction formation. Even more important, the mother is the main agent of discipline in middle-class childhood, and being good is mainly associated with pleasing her. When the boy revolts against her in the name of masculinity, it is not surprising that he identifies ' goodness ' with femininity, and ' being a bad boy' becomes a positive goal. In such circumstances adolescence, and especially the ordinary adolescent phase of rebellion, is likely to bring difficulties in sexual identification and in sexual assertion.

There is much that is very attractive in this view that the familiar psychological pattern of maternal domination is in the middle-class (where it is most apparent) reinforced by social patterns. But if we examine this group of car-thieves from this point of view, we find that although many families are middle-class in the sense of accepting the value of middle-class standards and ambitions, the majority are not. In fact, there are many particularly fine examples of subcultural delinquency. The boy lives in a heavily-delinquent area, on good terms with his parents, especially the mother who is an affectionate woman, always willing and anxious to ' have him back '. The boy is ' a very good boy at home—it is just the company he has been mixing with ', etc. Parental discipline is classed as ' lax ' and ' lack of parental control ' is given as the cause of delinquency by the probation officer. The main feature of the fathers is that they do not count as much as they normally do in working-class families, not only in the eyes of the boy but probably of the mother too. They are either not interested or have given up any attempt to influence the family because of inadequacy, irritability or mental illness. This has diverted the mother's attention to the children. But what one does find is that the relationship with the mother has much in common with that found in the middle-class ' proving ' offences or, in a more serious form, in the neurotic cases. In the subcultural group the mother may be ' lax ' and take little notice of whether the boy is associating with delinquent gangs and bad company,

but when he produces his first frivolous 15-year-old girl-friend she is quick to warn him over-solemnly that he should pick a good cook and needlewoman or warn him about venereal disease. This psychological situation is less marked than in the middle-class family but the joy-riding gang of companions nearer at hand. In several cases the joy-riding occurred during the period of tension when the boy was screwing up his courage to get engaged.

These cases remind us, if a reminder is necessary, that even in subcultural delinquency there are individual psychological factors, and that the disturbed middle-class delinquent is also influenced by social factors.

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'MONEY-DOUBLING' IN THE GOLD COAST:
With Some Cross-Cultural Comparisons

By GUSTAV JAHODA (Glasgow)

It has become a commonplace of criminology that cultural factors exert an important influence on the particular form taken by various offences. The interest of 'money-doubling', a type of confidence game, lies in the fact that it is a crime which reflects some of the major stresses of Gold Coast[1] society in transition.

The observations to be described are not primarily the outcome of direct criminological research, and this accounts for some of their shortcomings. In the course of a broader study of psychological aspects of social change, the writer came across several reports of money-doubling. It seemed worth while following these up by consulting the headquarters of the C.I.D. in Accra in order to obtain further information about this type of offence. Later it was decided to secure some material about confidence games in Britain to find out if similar crimes were to be encountered there. The comparison to be presented is in the main a qualitative one, limited in scope and making no pretensions at exhaustiveness. It will, however, serve to highlight some salient contrasts between the forms taken by confidence games in the two cultures.

Confidence Games in a British City

The police department in one of the largest cities in Britain, with a substantial proportion of Irish migrants, was approached with a request for details of the activities of confidence men known to the police.[2] The following is a summary of the data they generously provided from their records.

Confidence Men and their Victims. There are some twelve men known to the police in this city who regularly engage in confidence games, although few of them confine themselves entirely to this kind of crime. In fact, all of them started their career—and they are mostly professional criminals—with some form of larceny. Their mean age is 46, with a range from 32

[1] The old name for Ghana is used here to indicate that the work was carried out before the attainment of independence.

[2] As the authority concerned wishes to remain anonymous, no specific acknowledgment can be made.

to 62. The majority of them have had a variety of jobs, averaging about three or four, of a sort fairly low in the occupational scale : labouring or semi-skilled work predominate ; two have been bookmakers' clerks for a while. Whenever education was mentioned it appeared that it did not go beyond elementary schooling, and it may be inferred that this is true of all of them.

The victims can be roughly divided into two categories, the naïve and the opportunists. The former consist mainly of Irish immigrant labourers and country people, usually farm workers. Both are conspicuous, so that confidence men as a rule have little difficulty in singling them out for attention. Many of the Irish labourers are thrifty men who have been saving up money for their return home. At the same time they often carry their savings around with them, owing to insufficient trust in the banks. They are inclined to think that they are clever, and when they come across what appears to be a chance of making money easily, they fall ready victims to the confidence men. Similar considerations apply to country labourers.

Those who have been labelled ' opportunists ' are mainly small shop-keepers or café proprietors, often of foreign nationality or extraction. Some again tend to keep considerable sums of money on their premises, instead of depositing them in a bank. They are often anxious to take advantage when goods are offered to them at an extremely low price, being also apt to turn a blind eye to the fact that such goods could hardly have been acquired legally by the would-be sellers.

Confidence Games. Corresponding to these two categories of victims there are two characteristic modes of approach. In the case of the naïve victim, the confidence man usually pretends that he has some ' inside dope ' on the outcome of a horse race. The other variety, as has already been implied, consists in the sale of non-existent goods. An illustration of each will be given.

I. The confidence man met a young Irishman, led him into a conversation about Ireland and promised that he would get him a better job. He then took his victim to a prearranged meeting place where he met his accomplice. Both tricksters supposedly placed bets on a horse and persuaded the Irishman to join them with £100. The confidence man went away with the money and returned a short time later, saying that the horse had won but there was not enough money in the bookmaker's office to meet the winnings. He then gave the victim a postal money order form to sign, with the promise that the winnings would be forwarded.

II. Another confidence man called on a shop-keeper pretending he was an official with British Railways and could supply cigarettes at exceptionally low prices. He accepted an order to the value of £240, which he said would

be delivered the following day. On the next day he went to inform the shopkeeper that no transport was available for the cigarettes, but asked the victim to accompany him to the goods station. There they were joined by an accomplice who was supposed to be responsible for the despatch. The victim was then induced to hand over the money to the accomplice and both left on the pretence of expediting delivery, but failed to return.

Nearly all the crimes contained in the records were variations on these two simple themes. The police usually have little difficulty in tracking down those responsible whenever a complaint is laid, especially as some of the criminals are easily identifiable by their personal appearance, physical disabilities and so forth. Prosecutions are generally successful, and it is the view of the Superintendent in charge that few offences go unreported. Against this background one particular aspect of the position in the Gold Coast will now be examined.

Money-Doubling in the Gold Coast

The confidence games just described as typical of a city in Britain also occur in the Gold Coast, although no estimate of relative frequency is available. Attention was focused exclusively on one form peculiar to the Gold Coast from which this paper derives its title. Unfortunately the standard classification at the C.I.D. Headquarters in Accra, being modelled on that used in Britain, does not single out money-doubling as a special type of offence ; and no *modus operandi* file had as yet been established. Consequently, it was necessary to institute a search that brought to light twelve cases of this kind which had come to the attention of the police during the period from 1951 to the middle of 1955.[3] It is not certain that all such cases were successfully located, nor can the twelve cases be considered technically a sample, especially as in such offences the ' dark number ' is likely to be particularly high. In several of the present cases the criminals behaved in an imprudent manner making reports to the police and detection more likely. The writer himself has encountered two well-authenticated instances, and heard about several others, that never reached the police. In order that personal confidences should not be violated, detailed references will only be made to material obtained from the police files. However, in making tentative generalizations the others will also be taken into account. As all known cases tend to follow a remarkably stereotyped pattern, it appears probable that those discussed here are not unrepresentative in their most relevant aspects.

[3] The writer is greatly indebted to the Superintendent of Police, C.I.D., Accra, for his generous assistance and permission to make use of the material.

A further drawback of the police reports is that they are not completely uniform, so that information about what will for brevity henceforth be called doublers and victims is rather patchy. Fortunately there is usually sufficient evidence to indicate at least roughly what sort of people they are.

The Social Background. For an understanding of money-doubling in relation to its context, a short sketch of the most salient social changes is necessary. Fundamentally, these consist of the gradual disintegration of what was formerly a relatively stable tribal culture. While it remained intact, the mass of illiterate people (and even today nine-tenths of the population belong to this category) were guided in their behaviour by traditional norms, backed by supernatural sanctions. Within this system the chief and his elders occupied the prestige positions, wealth being of relatively minor importance in determining social status. Thus, whilst there were few possibilities of advancing in status or acquiring material wealth, there was a corresponding lack of desire for such achievements. In other words a social class structure in the Western sense was non-existent.

Among the various influences which have altered all this, education, the introduction of cocoa as a cash crop, and more recent political developments may be mentioned. There has been a vast influx of population into the urban centres, where removal from the shelter and control of the tribal community has produced familiar symptoms of disorganization such as prostitution and crime. Social status comes to be increasingly dependent upon education and wealth or income, and this tendency is also spreading to the rural areas. The desire for a higher standard of living has been stimulated by education, advertisements and the conspicuous consumption exhibited by a small but highly visible minority. This trend is reflected, for instance, in a popular song describing the ideal husband as a man with a Jaguar and a fridge-full of good things. From the present point of view two facts are of cardinal importance : first, the desire for material advancement has far outrun, for most people, the actual possibilities of accumulating wealth ; second, the saying '*l'appétit vient en mangeant*' is true in the Gold Coast as elsewhere, and those who have succeeded in making money often only become all the keener to get more.

Something must also be said about the prevalence of supernatural, and especially magical beliefs. The advent of—to a considerable extent nominal—Christianity has driven some of these underground, yet without destroying them. Owing to the changes in social structure and power-relationships those linked with the ritual functions of the chiefs have become greatly weakened. On the other hand, the lack of security, and frequent presence of status anxiety, have strongly enhanced other beliefs, chiefly focused on magic and witchcraft. With literates some of these have become

partly assimilated to occult notions imported through the less reputable books and periodicals from the West.

It should be observed in this connection that an undue feeling of superiority on this score would be unjustified. Reference may be made to the Cornish farmer who paid more than £600 to a gypsy woman so that she should ' grease the planets ' for him,[4] or to the researches in the Liverpool area by Dr. Madeline Kerr.[5] The fact remains, however, that such beliefs are on the whole held only by an eccentric fringe of our society, whilst they are characteristic of the majority of people in the Gold Coast.

Doublers and Their Victims. Starting with the latter, these belong to the category already mentioned who have money and want more. They are all self-employed and include such occupations as small trader, contractor, lorry owner, all with elementary schooling ; there are also two illiterate but affluent farmers and, quite atypically, a group of schoolgirls.[6]

Somewhat more can be said about the doublers. They mostly belong to a social type who have received sufficient education to arouse their ambition, but not enough to acquire the requisite skill for a remunerative post. Others in such a position try to close the gap by improving their education, usually through correspondence courses, but less stable individuals are inclined to search for short cuts and hit upon an easy way of exploiting the greed and gullibility of their luckier fellows. All the doublers are literate, although two Muslims among them are so only in Arabic. Among their occupations are those of school-teacher, clerk, taxi driver, petty trader and herbalist. Several of them are obviously rolling stones who do not stick to any one job. Brief notes on two doublers are given below.

X. Aged about 28. Parents illiterate farmers. Educated in a Methodist school up to Standard 3, and continued in a Roman Catholic school to Standard 7 (*i.e.* finished elementary schooling) in 1942. Joined the army in the same year, and was sent overseas. Discharged in 1946. A year later he became a taxi driver in Kumasi and then Accra. He took up herbalism in 1951 (one year before the offence). Is unmarried.

Y. Aged about 31. Parents illiterate farmers. Educated up to Standard 6. Trained for carpentry and finished his apprenticeship in 1943. Became a herbalist in 1948 (*i.e.* four years before the offence). Has a wife and one child.

[4] Reported in the *Manchester Guardian*, 27th June, 1956.

[5] ' Magic Today '. A paper read at the Annual Conference of the British Psychological Society, Manchester, 1956.

[6] These would not normally be singled out by doublers, for the simple reason that they do not have much money. In the present instance the culprit was a convict who had just been released from prison and needed some ready cash ; he happened to meet the girls and set to work on them.

Several features of interest emerge, which these two share with other offenders. They are young men, of illiterate parentage, who have drifted into the cities. A number of them practised 'herbalism' after dropping an ordinary occupation. This rather vague term covers a variety of activities ranging all the way from those of genuinely skilled native doctors to the worst kind of charlatanism. Undoubtedly they came closer to the latter and discovered in this way how easy it is to take advantage of people's credulity.

The Money-Doubling Operation. The expression 'money-doubling', popularly current in the Gold Coast, denotes a form of confidence trick (or magical skill for the believer) in which the victim is induced to provide a sum of money for it to be increased by the doubler. The name is really misleading, as the usual promise is that the amount will be multiplied several times. The precise sums handed over varied from just under three pounds, representing the combined savings of the previously mentioned group of schoolgirls, to over £1,200 from which a wealthy cocoa farmer was parted. The average worked out to about £475, by no means a negligible amount.

Among the twelve cases under consideration, the means to be employed for the doubling were entirely magical in seven cases and mainly technological in four ; there was insufficient information to assign one of them definitely to either of these categories. The procedures in what has been labelled the 'technological' approach are quite simple and usually fairly uniform. The doubler offers to the victim a mechanical device for sale which purports to be a machine for producing banknotes. The 'machine' usually consists of an electric toaster, with the rather crude addition of lights, buzzers or bells for suitably impressive effects ; occasionally other pieces of apparatus are employed such as a similarly equipped ironclad switch, or gadgets procured from novelty merchants overseas. A magical element normally enters in so far as the machine requires some kind of 'medicine' to enable it to function properly ; thus one toaster inspected by the writer had a small bottle attached to it into which the medicine had to be poured. There is always a demonstration showing the machine at work, where a few genuine currency notes come out.

This kind of method uses mainly the high prestige of Western technology, together with the widespread ignorance of its most elementary principles. Nevertheless, there is a certain rational element in such a transaction ; after all, banknotes *are* printed on machines, and the money is demanded in exchange for the supposed money-making apparatus, the medicine, and sometimes even the blank currency paper that is said to be needed. The writer is under the impression, for which there are only indications falling

far short of proof, that this type of approach tends to be on the whole less successful. If this view is correct, the reason may be sought in the gradually increasing diffusion of technical knowledge, and possibly also in the very presence of a rational element, which does not make for the inhibition of critical thought.

The more frequent magical type of approach is entirely non-rational. Some variants of the techniques characterizing it will be illustrated by presenting three cases in detail.

Case A. One of the doublers lodged a farmer from a distant village in his house. In conversation he told his guest of a ' professor ' in the village who could make genuine currency notes by magic. The farmer was later introduced to the ' professor ', who said that, if two portmanteaux were provided, he could fill them by his magical powers with West African pound notes to the value of £17,000. On the following day the farmer purchased two portmanteaux and two pieces of cloth, which he kept in a room on instructions from the ' professor '. During the day the ' professor ' and his accomplice called the farmer and some other people into the room. The ' professor ' then recited some incantations, and subsequently the portmanteaux were seen filled with currency notes. At this point the ' professor ' told the farmer that there was altogether £17,000 and he would give him the whole amount if the farmer handed over £500 for the service. The farmer produced the cash which he gave to the accomplice, who was told by the ' professor ' to place the money on the floor near the portmanteaux.

The ' professor ' then warned the farmer not to touch anything until he had sprinkled it with something which he was going to fetch from the street. They all went out of the room, and the farmer shortly afterwards left the house. During his short absence the two doublers returned to the room, took the £500 and then absconded.

In order to appreciate the limitless faith of the victim the situation must be clearly understood: he was, in effect, asked to purchase the sum of £17,000 for a payment of only £500, and never seems to have asked himself why anybody should be foolish enough to enter into such a bargain. The prestige of education is shown by the assumption of the title of ' professor '. This was also done in Case B, where the first contact was established through the victim's wife.

Case B.[7] The victim's wife one day informed her husband that she had met certain persons who were fortune-tellers and able to call spirits and mermaids who gave wealth to people ; some of those who had been helped in this way were chiefs and other notable citizens. The victim became interested, and his wife introduced D_1 to him as one of the ' professors '. D_1 confirmed all the wife had said ; he added that he could even call an angel known as ' Father '

[7] As there were three doublers involved, they will be referred to as D_1, D_2 and D_3 respectively.

and that he had performed several wonderful and useful things for many people, including the . . . hene (the local chief) and Mr. Q., who had been seen on several occasions by the victim's wife in D_1's company. D_1 then promised to take them into a field in the evening to show them what he could do.

At about 8 p.m. they went with D_1 to a spot in the bush which was formerly a pagan cemetery. To the surprise and encouragement of the victim he saw the . . . hene, Mr. Q., and an assembly of many other prominent people. At the command of D_1, they all knelt down and said the Lord's Prayer. He made certain recitals from a book, and then started yelling and calling and a voice answered 'Hello . . .' (D_1's name). Suddenly a figure in a long white flowing gown appeared, approaching in the midst of a small star-like blazing fire. The figure, described by D_1 as 'The Spirit' and which he explained must be addressed as 'Madam', called the people one by one and attended to them. The victim and his wife were called and told that, if proper precautions were not taken, a serious illness would attack them. The victim's horoscope was read by the 'Spirit' and he was given to understand that he was naturally gifted to be prosperous, but that certain evil spirits in his house were haunting him. He was assured of a change in his fortune through the 'Spirit', provided only a suitable offering was forthcoming.

Within a few days the victim paid amounts of money and handed over other articles to the aggregate value of about £200 to D_1, in the expectation that the 'Spirit' would see in return that he got about £6,000. A change of tactics followed later, whereby he was introduced to D_2 who, he was assured, had even more influence over the 'Spirit'; D_2 in turn obtained about £500 worth of money and goods on behalf of the 'Spirit'. Finally—and these several transactions extended over a period of eight months—the victim was passed on to D_3 as the most powerful 'professor' of all, the original bait being at the same time increased from £6,000 to £10,000. A further £170 was thus extorted.

When nothing materialized at all, the victim eventually went to the police, who carried out a search of the premises of the accused. Among other objects pieces of paper cut to the size of one-pound notes were found, a picture of a mermaid and a quantity of white cloth.

This case provides a good illustration of the blending of Western with indigenous features. The 'mermaid' and the white-gowned ghost are clearly of European origin; the small star-like fire sounds like one of the Christmas 'sparklers' which are on sale in the markets of some of the larger towns together with other kinds of fireworks. There was also the Lord's Prayer, and recitals from a book, both taken over from Christian worship. On the other hand, the spot chosen for the meeting was an old pagan cemetery; by virtue of the persistence of the traditional attitudes towards ancestors, a great deal of superstitious awe remains attached to such places. In general the whole affair was obviously very cleverly stage-managed, and by arranging for several prominent people to attend the show, the doublers created an atmosphere of confidence and heightened suggestibility.

Case C. The scene of this was the Grand Central Hotel where the three victims met a Mr. K., who told them about the wonderful magical feats performed by a ' professor ' he knew, whose speciality was the production of currency notes. The doubler himself arrived later, joined them and was introduced by Mr. K. He confirmed all that K. had said about him. After three days the victims again saw the doubler at the Hotel. He repeated his claims about his extraordinary powers, and mentioned that he had been helping many people. The victims asked for proof of his magical skills, and the doubler replied that they could have it on payment of a registration fee of two guineas each.

Two days later they paid the fee, and all four met in the room of one of the victims. The doubler then called for four bottles of whisky, one tin of Churchman's cigarettes and a box of matches. They consumed a bottle of the whisky, and the doubler made many pound notes appear, which vanished soon after. He then suggested that they should pay him £12,000 which would be ' doubled ' to £50,000 ; this proved too high a demand and eventually a compromise was reached whereby they paid him £600 which he would make into £25,000. When the cash was handed over, he asked them to write down their names and the amounts contributed by each, so as to enable him to mention their names to his ' Spirit '. Before departing with the money he assured the victims that they would receive £25,000 within twenty-four hours.

Another two days passed, when one of the disappointed victims happened to come across the doubler, who said that for a charge of £10 he was prepared to call the ' Spirit ' for enquiries. He actually obtained £4 10s. but later the police were informed.

This last case occurred in a more sophisticated milieu, and the doubler seems to have been something of a prestidigitator. Yet in spite of all the trappings of registration fee and proper accounts, the central agent was believed to be a spirit, over whom the ' professor ' was supposed to have magical control. Two noteworthy aspects, encountered in several of the police cases, may perhaps be more frequent in these, as they are of a nature to make apprehension more likely. One is the fact of the doubler remaining in the same locality as the victims, the other his effrontery in demanding more money on being challenged. In any case, the cards are stacked in favour of the doubler, for even when he is reported it is often difficult to obtain sufficient evidence to ensure his conviction ; in the last case, for instance, the accused went free.

Similarities and Contrasts

Confidence games in both cultures are variants of a classical pattern : the city slicker outwitting the country yokel. In other words, a necessary prerequisite is a relative lack of sophistication in the victim, if not generally then at least in certain specific aspects of his make-up. In every case the sentiment exploited is the desire for easy gain, which in turn presupposes

the existence of cultural norms favouring the accumulation of wealth. The general background of beliefs and attitudes subject to manipulation differs widely, however, with a corresponding divergence of techniques.

In the Gold Coast there have been rapid social changes stimulating a wish in a large section of the population for social and economic advancement comparable to that in western countries. At the same time the modifications in the value system relating to wealth and social status have outstripped the progress in education and, in the case of those who have been educated, the provision of what they consider suitable outlets. The latter condition has produced the confidence men, who have risen from illiterate families and found no further lawful avenues of advance. Some of them then seize upon the prevalent belief that supernatural forces exist that are subject to control by those who have the requisite esoteric knowledge, a belief derived from traditional cosmology. The prestige accorded to educated men in Gold Coast society provides them with a powerful lever for influencing people, especially as some claim to be initiated in what remain for many the mysteries of western technology. This accounts for the common tendency of money-doublers being, or at least successfully pretending to be, of a higher educational level than their victims.

The position in the British city is entirely different. Special inquiries were made about any confidence games that might involve supernatural beliefs, and apart from such petty offences as fortune-telling none had come to the notice of the police over the past few years. This does not mean, of course, that there were none, but they clearly did not feature prominently. Britain is an industrial ' acquisitive ' society, and the desire for money can be taken for granted. Universal and compulsory education has successfully rooted out the cruder forms of supernatural beliefs that flourished in earlier periods, although exceptions to this have already been noted. In any case, the general run of confidence men do not seem to find this a fruitful line of attack. Instead, one of their main openings is the widespread practice of betting, coupled with the idea that certain people have special access to information that can eliminate the element of risk. This idea is buttressed by the manifold, and legal, activities of ' tipsters ' and vendors of supposedly infallible ' systems '. Even so, they are forced to pick as their prey mainly people whose rural background makes them isolated and relatively defenceless in a city milieu.

The confidence men themselves are not young men blocked in their advance, but middle-aged feckless rogues, most of whom have been at various times in receipt of unemployment relief and National Assistance. Not of a higher educational standard than their victims, their only and

crucial claim to superiority is that they are in possession of ' inside dope ' concerning racing results. It may appear surprising that such types are able to impress shopkeepers, but it has to be understood that *vis-à-vis* these they are often playing their real-life rôles, namely those of criminals able to procure stolen goods.

Finally it has to be emphasized again that the comparison offered here is a very partial and limited one. A particular kind of confidence trick in the Gold Coast, money-doubling, has been compared with the run-of-the-mill confidence games in a British city. Other forms are to be found in the Gold Coast which resemble the British patterns more closely. In what might be labelled various ' areas of uncertainty ' there is far more similarity or at least convergence between the two cultures. One of these would be located on the other side of the penumbra dividing medicine from quackery. The outstanding fact remains that the cultural setting determines to a large extent the type of person who becomes a confidence trickster, those who are liable to become their victims and the kinds of method employed.

APPROACHES TO AN ECOLOGICAL STUDY[1]

By HOWARD JONES (Leicester)

Ten years ago, in a report on juvenile delinquency in Cambridge, Dr. Hermann Mannheim called for more local studies of this kind (1). There was very little response to this appeal, and such studies as were carried out were qualitative rather than quantitative.[2] Qualitative local studies are, of course, of great importance to supplement and give meaning to statistical indices ; unless one knows something about social attitudes in different parts of an area, for example, it is impossible even to begin to understand why their delinquency rates differ. However, the quantitative enquiry is equally indispensable. It provides a skeletal structure which gives shape and cohesion to the whole.

Nor is our interest in local studies confined to what they can tell us about causation ; the study of the morphology of crime, crime *as a phenomenon*, is also a legitimate aim for the criminologist. The contributions made to this by the quantitative study are particularly valuable, for they are in a form which facilitates comparison between studies carried out in different areas.

More local studies of all sorts are clearly needed. The work done so far suggests that local causal and morphological patterns are often specific, and that it may be very misleading to draw conclusions solely from investigations carried out at a national level. Mannheim's work on the specific nature of the local relationships between crime and unemployment or drunkenness are cases in point (2).

[1] Much of the material used in this study was collected (under supervision) by J. Appleton, M. DeVoil, and L. Scarrott, students in the School of Social Studies, University College of Leicester.

[2] Notably J. B. Mays, ' Growing Up in the City ', 1954 and W. J. H. Sprott *et al.*, ' The Social Background of Delinquency ', 1954 (limited circulation by Nottingham University). Outstanding exceptions are, of course, the thorough statistical study of delinquency in Glasgow, written by Professor T. Ferguson under the title, ' The Young Delinquent in his Social Setting ' and Dr. Terence Morris's scholarly " The Criminal Area: a Study in Social Ecology ", just published (Routledge and Kegan Paul).

As the first step in a study of crime in Leicester and Leicestershire, juvenile court records in the City of Leicester [3] were analysed. Spot maps were constructed to show in what areas delinquents lived, at different stages in the development of the city, and also in what areas of the city they committed their offences. The sex and ages of offenders, the prevalence of gang-offences, the type of offences committed, their monthly and daily distributions, and the dispositions made by the court were also examined.

The Area Study

(*a*) *Home Addresses.* The home addresses of all young offenders found guilty by the juvenile court of the city in the years 1931, 1935, 1946 and 1953, were plotted on maps. These made, in the year 1931, a distinct ring round the shopping area in the centre, broken only in the south, where lies the superior middle-class residential area. By 1935 the total amount of delinquency had grown substantially, and to the broken ring of 1931 had been added a new housing estate on the outskirts. By 1946 other housing estates had also become important centres of delinquent activity, without noticeably affecting the concentration near the city centre.

For the year 1953, more is known about the age-composition of the populations of the different areas, and it has been possible to calculate for each area a delinquency-rate per thousand children of juvenile court age living in the area. The results obtained are given in Table I (below). It will be observed that a distinction has been made between ' all offenders ' and ' " real " offenders '. The aim here is to separate out the more serious offenders for special study. The category ' " real " offences ' therefore excludes infractions (such as riding a bicycle without lights, trespassing on the railway track but without committing damage, or letting off fireworks in the street) which are either technical in character, or a fairly normal expression of childish exuberance. These have their importance in any study of child behaviour, and even in a study of the roots of crime, but at the same time they have not the same criminal significance as the more serious ' real ' offences.

The difference is not merely a quantitative one—between more or less serious breaches of the law ; in most cases there is a qualitative difference too. Although many of those who commit ' real ' offences also commit minor offences, a much larger number never go beyond the latter. They seem to be normal children and, in our crowded and restricted urban society, would probably be abnormal if they never ' kicked over the traces '. They are delinquent, of course, but it would be to gloss over important

[3] It is hoped to add comparative material for the rural areas of Leicester in a later paper.

and essential differences to treat them as delinquent in exactly the same sense as those committing the more serious infractions.

In official statistics of crime it is usual to draw this line of demarcation between indictable and non-indictable offences, and as a result, research studies drawing extensively upon official statistics have used the same classification. This distinction is roughly similar to that between more and less serious offences, but being historical in origin rather than diagnostic, it is not a very adequate classification for research purposes. Thus malicious damage, the stealing or receiving of stolen animals, fruit, etc., and various types of assault, are all officially classified as non-indictable, being consequently grouped with playing games in the street, traffic offences, and dog licence offences. There is also reason to believe that the dividing line between indictable and non-indictable offences depends very much upon the discretion of the police as to the heading under which a charge should be brought ; and that as a result the line is apt to shift from time to time (3)—and also presumably from one area to another. The procedure adopted in the present study, being based exclusively upon the nature of the offences themselves, must be more objective and consistent than that.

TABLE I

Delinquents and Delinquency-Rates for School Attendance Areas in Leicester in the Year 1953

District No.	*'Real' Delinquents*		*All Delinquents*	
	No.	*Rate per Thousand*	*No.*	*Rate per Thousand*
1	23	9·8	39	16·7
2	6	2·4	30	12·1
3	10	3·7	22	8·1
4	34	20·2	55	32·7
5	34	17·9	52	27·4
6	7	3·0	38	16·0
7	6	3·3	23	12·6
8	21	17·3	43	35·5
9	13	5·2	17	6·8
10	15	6·0	25	10·0
11	12	4·7	46	18·2
12	15	6·2	31	12·9
13	13	6·5	19	9·5
14	9	4·8	18	9·6
15	8	3·3	18	7·4

Although the areas used here do not correspond exactly to natural community groupings, the nature of the social service for which they were designed is such that there is some correspondence ; they certainly correspond to the natural groupings much more closely than electoral wards, which are generally used in investigations of this kind (4). Therefore, although the heterogeneity of the areas may tend to blur the results to some extent, some striking differences do nevertheless emerge. As far as the ' real ' delinquency-rate is concerned, districts 4, 5, and 8 stand out. High rates in the ' all offenders ' column are yielded by these districts and also by districts 1, 6 and 11. Districts 4 and 5 are the old city-centre areas which have always been productive of much delinquency. The others are areas containing housing estates sited near the city boundary, and it is in their new-estate parts that most of their delinquents live. The lowest rate for ' real ' offenders is shown by district 2, the better-class residential area already mentioned.

It is of some interest to examine more closely the changes which have taken place in the delinquency position of some of these areas between 1946 and 1953. Although the actual age-composition of the various areas for the year 1946 was not known, a fairly reliable estimate could be made, and delinquency-rates are given herewith for seven in which the comparison with 1953 seems significant. In this case, only the ' real ' delinquency figures can be given.

TABLE II

Delinquency-Rates for School Attendance Areas in Leicester in the Years 1946 *and* 1953

District No.	*' Real ' Offenders Rates per Thousand*	
	1946	1953
2	8·1	2·4
3	12·1	3·7
4	34·9	20·2
5	23·4	17·9
6	9·6	3·0
7	9·4	3·3
8	10·7	17·3

The delinquency-rate for the whole city fell by 34 per cent. (from 9·1 to 6 per thousand) between 1946 and 1953, but it can be seen that districts

2, 3, 6 and 7 improved considerably on this, while the rate for district 8 moved in the opposite direction, actually becoming worse. All of these changes are due to variations in the amount of delinquency on new estates ; even the decline in the rate for district 2 was due to a reduction in a new estate enclave within what would otherwise have been wholly a middle-class (and low delinquency) area. As against this fluctuation on the estates, the rates for the two central districts, numbers 4 and 5, remained remarkably constant.

The increase in the rate for district 8 in the face of a general decrease in the other estate areas examined calls for discussion. Like 3, 6 and 7, it is one of the earliest estates, and was completed before the war. Its anomalous record is not therefore to be explained by the fact that it is still being developed while others are not. Another possible explanation is the admitted fact that it is used to rehouse the more sluttish and less well-behaved residents of the slum clearance areas. However, so is district 3, and the latter, while displaying a high rate in 1946, has improved to a point at which it can bear comparison with very respectable and stable areas in other parts of the city.

The key to the problem is probably going to be found in a comparison of districts 3 and 8, whose similarity in a number of ways eliminates some of the variables from this very complex situation. One of the differences which remain, and which could account for their very different delinquency-rates, appears to be with regard to the residential mobility of their inhabitants. Although actual figures for changes of tenancy are difficult to come by, the city Housing Department are convinced that council tenants in district 8 do move more frequently than in district 3. There seem to be at least two possible reasons for this : (*a*) council houses in the former tend to be smaller in size than in the latter, with the result that as families grow in size they have to be moved to more commodious premises elsewhere ; (*b*) tenants whose standards of housekeeping and behaviour improve eventually ask for a move to a more respectable neighbourhood. This constitutes a sort of vicious circle : the better tenants move because the low standards in the neighbourhood have become offensive to them, and this has the result of depressing local standards still further.

Many investigators on both sides of the Atlantic have found high delinquency-rate areas to be distinguished by the high degree of mobility shown by their residents (7). It is not difficult to see how, in this case, the connection might operate. After some years of confusion, and mounting delinquency, district 3 was becoming a community, and beginning to develop and enforce community norms of behaviour. The influx of new residents from the slum areas was continuing, but on a very limited scale,

and the new community was strong enough to restrain them and possibly even to assimilate some of them. In district 8, on the other hand, there was still, by 1953, no very settled community life. The constantly changing population meant, not only that community controls remained weak and inoperative, but that the population was being renewed all the time by a continuous flow of residents of low calibre from the slums. This kind of hypothesis is confirmed to some extent by the fact that when, in 1954, the opening of another estate with better amenities caused a large number of transfers from district 3, the level of delinquency in the latter began to rise again. The data for 1954 are, however, still being analysed.

The similarity between these new estates as breeding-grounds for delinquency, and the interstitial areas studied by F. M. Thrasher (6) should be noted. Although the estates studied here are developing, while Thrasher's interstitial areas were decaying, the most striking feature of both is that they are at a transitional stage in their development. Both are in a state of flux. In both, therefore, standards are apt to be confused and unformed, while their power to enforce such standards as they have evolved will be very limited.

The spot map shows that the addresses of delinquents are not widely and evenly dispersed throughout the districts in which they occur, but are closely localized, often in a street or a closely contiguous group of streets. Sometimes the clusters of spots are bounded, and apparently confined, by some obvious barrier to social intercourse—a railway track, a park or other open space, a main road, the boundary of a new estate, or the point at which an area of working-class terraces gives way to one of superior detached or semi-detached houses.

The conclusion to be drawn from this part of the enquiry is first of all, then, that the largest numbers of juvenile delinquents do live in the slum areas in the centre of the city. This is in accordance with the classical view expounded by members of the American ecological school, and in particular by C. R. Shaw (7). However, the development of new housing estates on the fringes of the town and the transfer of some of the residents of the central areas to these were accompanied by a growth of delinquency on the outskirts. Both Bagot and Mannheim had observed this phenomenon in other towns (8), and the present enquiry shows that it remains true even if differences of age-composition in the different areas are taken into account. And although the high delinquency-rates have not been maintained on those estates in which the population has become permanent and settled, the signs are that it is likely to flare up again if the population begins to shift on any considerable scale.

It is clear that the ecological hypothesis is too simple to account for the distribution of delinquency in a dynamic community in which changes are constantly taking place. It is also obvious that better housing, in itself, is no cure-all for delinquency. This point has also been emphasized by a recent, very careful, American enquiry (9). Rehousing must be accompanied by measures designed to stabilize community life and bring it to a speedy maturity.

(*b*) *Localization of Offences.* Mannheim has pointed out (10), however, that an area study which concentrates exclusively upon the addresses of offenders is incomplete. While it may bring out some of the community factors at work in the making of juvenile delinquents, it can tell us very little about the environmental temptations or opportunities which give rise to the actual offences. For light upon these, a study of the local distribution of the offences themselves is required.

A spot-map was therefore constructed to show the places where ' real ' offences were committed in the city of Leicester during the year 1953. This shows a great concentration in the shopping area in the centre of the city. In this area, of radius $\frac{1}{4}$ mile, occurred 28 per cent. of the offences committed in the city as a whole, as compared with only 18 per cent. in all the new housing estates combined—a total area many times as large as the shopping centre.

TABLE III

Distribution of ' Real ' Offenders and Offences between School Attendance Areas in Leicester, in the Year 1953

District No.	*Rates per* 1,000	
	Offenders	*Offences*
1	9·8	9·4
2	2·4	1·6
3	3·7	6·6
4	20·2	32·1
5	17·9	16·3
6	3·0	0·8
7	3·3	1·6
8	17·3	5·8
9	5·2	2·0
10	6·0	5·6
11	0·8	4·7
12	6·2	3·7
13	6·5	5·5
14	4·8	3·2
15	2·9	3·3

The shift in distribution is shown by Table III, which gives the rates per thousand residents of juvenile court age, side by side with the corresponding rates (already cited) from the ' home addresses ' study.

The central areas, 4 and 5, but especially the former, are seen to be very much more important as centres of delinquent *activity* than any of the others. Apart from these, only district 1 produces a rate which is significantly higher than the average for the city as a whole (5·9 per thousand).

Of the major estate areas (districts 1, 3, 6, 7, 8, and 11), the rate for district 1 has already been mentioned, and district 3 also shows an increase as compared with the ' home addresses ' study. The result in both of these cases is due to a number of repeated gang offences—in the case of district 3, to a brief epidemic of sex offences. The other estate districts have virtually disappeared from the picture, an eclipse which, in the case of district 8, is quite dramatic.

It should be noted that, although the central shopping district is entirely contained in districts 4 and 5, it is not identical with them. The latter also include older, decaying residential neighbourhoods. As almost all of the delinquency occurs in the shopping streets, the concentration in the centre of the city is greater even than the figures in Table III suggest.

When the offences committed outside the city centre are examined more closely, it is found that even here, in the great majority of cases, they were located at such centres of community life as main streets, car parks, and cinemas. The ' temptations and opportunities ', in other words, are much the same here also. In the city centre area, it is found that most of the offences were committed either in the open market or in the large departmental stores. The total for two of these stores alone amounted to 18 per cent. of the city total, exactly the same as the proportion for all the new estates combined.

In trying to assess the significance of these results as compared with those obtained in the ' home addresses ' study, it is tempting to attribute overwhelming significance to the local community influences, as building up in the offenders what might be called their ' criminal predisposition '. The temptations and opportunities provided by the shopping centre are then seen merely as precipitating factors, eliciting pre-existing tendencies to crime, and determining to some extent the kind of offences to be committed. If such an assumption is accepted, these two, apparently divergent, sets of results can very easily be dovetailed together.

But plausible as such a theory may appear, it may be too simple to fit the facts. There is no hard and fast dichotomy between predisposing and precipitating factors. Predisposition must be set up by particular experiences,

but experiences which are either intense enough, or often enough repeated, to leave their mark upon the character of the child. In this process the part which might be played by the influences, multifarious and powerful, which a child encounters among the sights and sounds, the lights and excitement in the shopping streets of a great city must not be left out of account. Only very detailed case-studies can help us to decide exactly how important they are.

Age Distribution

The distribution of delinquency in the city as a whole, as between different ages, in the year 1953, is given in the following table :

Table IV

Rates of Juvenile Delinquency in each Age Group per Thousand of Population in the Age Group, 1953

Age	*All Offenders*		*'Real' Offenders*	
	Rate	*Percentage of Total*	*Rate*	*Percentage of Total*
8	1·6	1·2	1·1	1·9
9	3·6	2·6	1·4	2·4
10	10·4	7·6	3·3	5·7
11	10·9	7·9	6·2	10·6
12	19·7	14·3	10·4	17·8
13	20·5	14·9	11·2	19·2
14	21·9	15·9	10·9	18·7
15	22·7	16·5	7·3	12·5
16	26·3	19·1	6·5	11·1

The ages 12, 13 and 14 are seen to be the peak or modal ages for 'real' offences, constituting 55·7 per cent. of the total. After age 13 the percentage declines steadily. In the case of 'all offenders', however, the peak age occurs at 16, the percentage continuing to rise steadily throughout the age-range. In this case, 51·5 per cent. of the total come into th range 14, 15 and 16. It seems that a larger proportion of the offences committed by the older juveniles are of a trivial character than is the case among younger children.

It will be seen from Table IV that the chance of a child's becoming delinquent is very much greater at one age than another, *e.g.* ten times as great at the age of 13 than at the age of 8, in 1953. In the Area Study (above)

it was therefore necessary, in theory, to eliminate this cause of difference before assuming that differences in delinquency rates between different areas were not due to population factors. To ascertain the effect of this factor, the actual 'juvenile court age' populations in each district were weighted according to the delinquency risk which their particular age-compositions implied.

This refinement was found to have little effect upon the area-delinquency rates, and none at all upon their relative importance as centres of delinquent activity. In most cases the corrections which resulted were minute, being considerably less than the change which would have resulted from two further delinquencies. It seems that such a refinement of method would be worth while only in investigations in which great precision is possible, or where population conditions are highly abnormal. For all normal conditions, and in investigations into subjects like juvenile delinquency in which, because of recording difficulties, the level of precision must be low, it can serve no very useful purpose.

Sex Ratio

Sex ratios for the city as a whole have been calculated, and are set out in Table V.

Table V

Delinquency Rates per Thousand of Population of each Sex, 1953

All Offenders			*'Real' Offenders*		
Male Rate	*Female Rate*	*Ratio*	*Male Rate*	*Female Rate*	*Ratio*
24·65	2·71	9:1	9·99	16·6	6:1

The very considerable discrepancy between the ratio for 'real' and that for total offences is accounted for by the fact that a much larger proportion of the offences committed by boys are trivial as compared with those committed by girls.

The much smaller crime rate of females of all ages, as compared with males, is one of the long-standing mysteries of criminal morphology. It has sometimes been suggested that this difference is more apparent than real, being due to the greater leniency shown to female offenders by the police and the courts (11). There is some evidence that this factor does

operate, but as Mannheim points out, it is hardly such as would fully account for the great disparity found. Radzinowicz's enquiry into the sex-ratio among offenders in Poland (12) indicates that local conditions may also play an important part, so the local study may have some contribution to make. That it has is borne out by a comparison of the sex-ratios for indictable offences for Leicester, five other towns of a similar size, and for England and Wales :

Leicester . . .	6 : 1	Nottingham . .	8 : 1
Bradford . . .	6 : 1	Cardiff . . .	15 : 1
Coventry . . .	7 : 1	Stoke . . .	15 : 1
England and Wales . . .	10 : 1		

These ratios are crude, being based (in the absence of population data for places other than Leicester) upon the raw delinquency figures given in Supplementary Criminal Statistics for 1953. However, they show clearly enough that recorded female delinquency, at any rate, varies quite widely from town to town in the proportion which it bears to male delinquency.

One interesting sidelight from the present study was that, although the overwhelming majority of the offences committed in Leicester in 1953 were committed by boys, the tables were turned for cases brought before the juvenile court as ' beyond parental control '. Of 26 such cases, 19 concerned girls. Some of the possible explanations of these figures could also contribute to an explanation of the male predominance in actual crime, *e.g.* that female misbehaviour runs into interpersonal rather than criminal channels, or that (because of the danger of pregnancy) the behaviour of girls is much more closely supervised than that of boys.

Gangs

In the following table a distinction has been made between cases in which only two juveniles were charged together, and those involving more than two.

Table VI

Percentages of Juvenile Offenders Committing their Offences in Groups of Two, and more than Two

	Percentage of ' Real ' Offenders	*Percentage of Total Offenders*
Gangs	26	32
Pairs	36	31
Both	62	63

There is seen to be virtually no difference in the percentages where both pairs and gangs are included, but small differences if they are treated separately. The differences shown provide some slight support for Mays' assertion (13), based upon case studies, that gang offences are more likely to be of the trivial than of the more serious type, but only if pairs are excluded. Even then, in the City of Leicester in 1953, at least one serious offence in every four was committed by juveniles in gangs of three or more.

If 'real' offenders, classified as individual, pair or gang offenders respectively, are then tabulated according to age, the following results are obtained :

TABLE VII

'Real' Offenders, Classified as Individual, Pair or Gang, tabulated according to Age

Age	*No. of Offenders*		
	Gang	*Pair*	*Individual*
8	2	2	1
9	–	6	–
10	3	4	7
11	3	11	7
12	19	9	7
13	11	19	6
14	8	13	17
15	6	3	14
16	–	2	18
Mean Age	12·3	12·3	13·7

It will be seen that the modal age rises steadily from 12 years in the case of gangs, to 13 years for pairs, and to 14 and 16 years for offenders tried singly. While the mean ages are the same for gangs and for pairs, the mean for solitary offenders is found to be noticeably higher. There is clearly a trend away from group offences at the higher ages, a trend which is in conformity with the general tendency during adolescence to abandon the gregarious 'swarming' of the middle years of childhood.

DAY AND MONTH OF OFFENCE

As in other studies, the peak days were found to be at the week-end and in midweek.

TABLE VIII

Daily Distribution of Juvenile Delinquency in Leicester in 1953

	Percentage of Whole
Monday	12·5
Tuesday	9·0
Wednesday	19·0
Thursday	10·0
Friday	13·5
Saturday	23·5
Sunday	12·0

The present study is at variance with the results obtained by Bagot in Liverpool (14), and with Burt's study of delinquency in London (15), in finding the week-end peak on Saturday and not Sunday, Sunday figures being fairly low. As in the Liverpool study, the midweek peak was found to occur on the Wednesday. Bagot's explanation, that it was connected with Wednesday early closing, hardly applies in Leicester, where early closing day is Thursday, and Wednesday is actually market day. The persistence of the Wednesday peak under very varying conditions (*i.e.* in the enquiries of both Burt and Bagot, as well as in Leicester), suggests that a general psychological factor may be present. Wednesday, for example, is as far removed from the week-end break as it is possible to get.

In this connection it is interesting to note that Saturday and Wednesday lose their ascendancy if the daily distribution for holidays only is tabulated. The peak then occurs on Thursday, which *is* early closing day. Numbers involved here are, of course, very small.

TABLE IX

Daily Distribution of Juvenile Delinquency during School Holidays, Leicester, 1953

	No.	*Percentage of Whole*
Monday	6	12·2
Tuesday	7	14·3
Wednesday	5	10·2
Thursday	10	20·4
Friday	5	10·2
Saturday	8	16·3
Sunday	8	16·3

In theory, in view of the Saturday peak shown by Table IX (above), one would have expected a definite increase in delinquency during school holidays, but if the numbers of ' real ' offenders for holiday and term periods respectively during the year are standardized per hundred days at risk, the figures obtained are 61 and 63·7 respectively. If Saturdays and Sundays are deducted from the term-time totals and added to the holiday figure, the rates become 65·7 for holidays and 59·8 for term. Apart from the effect of Saturday as a term-time peak day, it is therefore clear that holidays are no more important than term-time as opportunities for delinquency.

The actual monthly distribution is shown in the following table :

TABLE X

Monthly Distribution of Juvenile Delinquency in Leicester in 1953

	Percentage of Total
January	10
February	8
March	7
April	8
May	14
June	10
July	4
August	12
September	9
October	5
November	5
December	8

The salient points are the very low percentages in July, October and November, and the peaks in May and August.

Bagot also found that more delinquency occurred during term than during the school holidays, and argued that the peaks actually occur immediately after the resumption of school (16). As a rough attempt to test this hypothesis with the present material, the percentages for 'term beginning ' months were summed and compared with the total for ' holiday beginning ' months. The former (January, May and September) totalled 33 per cent., as against 19 per cent. for the latter (March, July and December). Although a closer analysis is obviously called for, the results, so far as they go, do support Bagot's contention.

Types of Offence

Details of type of offence have been analysed for each of the years 1931 1935, 1946, and 1953.

Table XI

Types of ' Real ' Offence Committed by Juveniles in Leicester in 1931, 1935, 1946 *and* 1953

	Percentages of Total in Each Year			
	1931	1935	1946	1953
Offences against property, without violence (mainly larceny)	47	60	50	72
Offences against property, with violence (mainly breaking and entering) . .	29	26	27	16
Malicious damage to property . . .	13	9	14	7
Offences of violence against the person	–	1	2	2
Sex offences	3	3	1	3
Miscellaneous	9	–	6	–

The only continuous trend to be discerned in these figures is the steady decline in offences against property with violence. The trend, up to 1946, towards violent crime generally seems to have abated a little by 1953. In 1953, as compared with 1946, there was a marked increase in crimes against property without violence, at the expense of breaking and entering and wilful damage. The change was only partly in accordance with national trends, and was in any case very much more marked. For example, as between the same two years, the proportion of larceny in England and Wales increased only from 59 per cent. to 65 per cent., while the decline in breaking and entering was only from 33 per cent. to 24 per cent. Malicious damage actually increased slightly in the whole country, from 3 per cent. to 4 per cent., in contrast to the striking reduction in Leicester. The threefold increase in the proportion of sex offences was similar to the national increase, but as, in Leicester, this represented an increase of only three actual cases, it can mean very little in itself.

Court Dispositions

As might have been expected, figures for all offenders show a much higher percentage for fining than do those for the extracted group of ' real ' offenders. Very few trivial offenders are placed on probation or sent to approved schools.

TABLE XII

Juvenile Court Dispositions in Leicester in the Year 1953

	Percentage of 'Real' Offenders	*Percentage of Total Offenders*
Fine	14·7	55·4
Probation	44·6	19·3
Approved School	19·0	8·4
Conditional and Absol. Discharge	17·1	10·6
Others	4·4	6·3

In the following table, the Leicester percentages for indictable offences are compared with those for indictable offences in the country as a whole, and also in certain towns of similar size to Leicester.

TABLE XIII

Juvenile Court Dispositions for Indictable Offences in 1953 (16)

	Fine	*Probation*	*Approved School*	*Cond. Abs. Disch.*	*Others*
Leicester (30)	15	45	20	15	5
Nottingham (37)	14	48	9	23	7
Cardiff (44)	7	37	10	37	8
Bradford (51)	15	35	10	36	4
Stoke (47)	15	48	3	32	2
Coventry (44)	4	43	11	40	1
England and Wales (47)	15	40	7	32	5

It is seen that Leicester makes much less use of conditional and absolute discharges than the other towns listed, and than is done, on the average, in the country as a whole. On the other hand, the percentage of approved school committals is much higher for Leicester than for the rest. If the percentage of conditional and absolute discharge is added to that for fines, the resultant figure is a rough measure of the unconstructiveness of court decisions, for in all these forms of sentence no continuous efforts are made to assist and guide the child. The court's interest in him ceases after the hearing. Court policies in Leicester, as assessed by this criterion, are seen to be much more constructive than those of the other places cited. (See the figures in brackets in the table above). It is, in particular, very disturbing, after so many years of successful experience in this country with a pro-

bation system, to find that one-third of our juvenile offenders are still discharged by the courts without any requirement as to supervision by a probation officer.

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RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY

(*Continued from Vol. VIII, p.* 62)

CURRENT RESEARCH. LIV. RESIDENTIAL TREATMENT OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS.

(1) *Name of University Department, Hospital or other Institution or private person supplying the information:* J. Carlebach.

(2) *Subject of Research:* The history of English Reformatory Schools in the nineteenth century with special reference to the nature and development of residential treatment of juvenile delinquents. An attempt will be made to analyse the problem of progress in residential treatment.

(3) *Under whose auspices is the research being carried out?* University of London. H. L. Beales, M.A. Research worker: J. Carlebach.

(4) *Commenced:* August 1957. *Completion expected:* Summer 1959.

(5) *Publication:* No results so far published. (The I.S.T.D. Essay Prize for 1956 was awarded for preliminary study.)

RECIDIVISM, INTELLIGENCE AND SOCIAL CLASS[1]

In view of the recurring interest in relating delinquency to variations in intelligence, and in particular the paper by B. Marcus (1955) in which no correlation was found between intelligence and either degree of criminal record or recidivism among adults, the writer is presenting some observations arising from the consideration of similar hypotheses in the field of juvenile delinquency.

The data belong to an investigation into psychological factors associated with recidivism carried out at the London Remand Home in 1954. The stratification of the sample was based on the Hall-Jones (1950) scale of the prestige value of occupations, with a modification introduced by Himmelweit *et al.* (1952), which makes it possible to differentiate between manual and non-manual occupations within the same social status group. Thus Hall-Jones Grade 5 is divided into its two principal components: (*a*) routine grades of non-manual; and (*b*) skilled manual. This distinction has particular importance for the social grading of delinquents in view of the extreme under-representation of non-manual workers' children in the delinquent sample.

Recidivists and First Offenders. The subjects of the study were 13 and 14-year-old boys remanded during the first half of 1954, who were either recidivists (having appeared in Court on at least three previous occasions) or first offenders (having

[1] For permission to carry out the research and publish results, thanks are expressed to the Children's Officer of the L.C.C. The material for this paper was drawn from an investigation for which an award was made by the Central Research Fund, University of London.

never before appeared in Court). Consecutive entrants were taken, except for three recidivists and two first offenders who, being unable to read, were unsuitable for the study. The Stanford-Binet I.Q.'s were available for most of the eighty-eight recidivists and fifty-six first offenders who made up the total sample. In the following table the mean I.Q. of each sub-group in the stratified sample is shown :

Hall-Jones Grade	*Recidivists*		*First Offenders*	
	N	*Mean I.Q.*	*N*	*Mean I.Q.*
3, 4, 5 (*a*) Non-manual grades .	10	105·0	12	104·9
5 (*b*) Skilled manual . . .	22	97·35	10	102·3
6,7 Semi- and unskilled manual .	55	95·8	30	94·4

The mean I.Q. of all recidivists does not differ significantly from that of all first offenders. When the whole delinquent sample is considered, I.Q. is found to increase significantly with rising occupational status. When the intelligence levels of recidivists and first offenders *within* an occupational grade are compared there are no significant differences (the skilled manual grade has a particularly wide scatter of scores).

Although a Stanford-Binet I.Q. distribution is not available for a normal group which has been stratified according to the Hall-Jones scale of occupational prestige, the intelligence levels presented in McNemar's ' Revision of the Stanford-Binet Scale ', when occupational gradings are made on the basis of the Goodenough scale, indicate what increases can be expected with rising status. For 10- to 14-year-olds the mean I.Q. for clerical and skilled trades is 107·4, for semi-skilled and minor clerical 103·4, for slightly skilled 100·6, for day labourers 97·2.

Raven's Matrices Test was administered to the delinquent sample. The means for recidivists and first offenders do not differ significantly, but when the frequencies per occupational grade are disposed on either side of the sample median, a correspondence between high score and high class emerges for first offenders only; recidivists of the non-manual grades have a significantly lower level of performance than first offenders ($p = \cdot 05$). These results will not be interpreted in this paper, but it is suggested that, particularly in the case of a culturally deviant group, a test of a component skill establishes no more than tentative groupings even when intelligence is an *independent* variable.

Early Recidivism. The ages of the recidivists at their first Court appearance ranged from 8 to 14, and the median of this distribution was 10 years 3.4 months. When the mean I.Q.'s of the three social classes are compared, intelligence is again found to rise with social class for both early and late recidivists. Not counting the non-manual grades (owing to small frequencies), early and late recidivists do not differ significantly in intelligence when the class factor is held constant :

	Recidivists only First Court Appearance			
	Above 10/3		*Below* 10/3	
Hall-Jones Grade	*N*	*Mean I.Q.*	*N*	*Mean I.Q.*
3, 4, 5 (*a*) .	7	100·0	3	110·0
5 (*b*) . .	15	97·4	7	97·3
6, 7 . .	22	95·4	33	96·2

The hypothesis on the 'badness' of criminal record is not tested in this sample, as 80 per cent. of the boys were remanded for stealing; there were only three sex offences and three offences of violence; the remainder were remanded for truanting, care or protection, or being beyond control. Although frequency of Court appearance is little guide to extent of criminal activity, it is approximately true to say that the most persistent offenders started early.

Temporal Factor. With the proviso regarding Raven's Matrices Test mentioned above, the opportunity can be taken of drawing comparison between the performances of two samples of delinquents from the same institution for different years. The Matrices scores are available for an unstratified sample of *all* consecutive entrants aged 13 and 14 years who were remanded during March and October, 1953. Although the 1954 sample is not representative of the remand home population for that age-group (being chosen for extremes of criminality), the absence of a significant difference between recidivists and first offenders suggests that the intermediate group would not have differed. When the mean scores of the two samples are compared, that of the earlier sample is found to be significantly lower :

	N	*Mean Matrices Score*
1954. Recidivists and first Offenders . .	141	36·97 σ 10·39
1953. All delinquents	146	31·51 σ 11·5

$p < \cdot 01$

Such an extreme difference is not likely to have been produced by the Matrices Test; it hints at a wide range of variation in the characteristics of remanded populations.

Conclusion. It will have been clear from the tables that the frequencies per occupational status group differ considerably, recidivists being over-represented in the manual grades. As the sample was selected for age and extremes of criminality, it can be concluded that, among these remanded delinquents, low occupational status of the father distinguishes (i) recidivists from first offenders ($p < \cdot 05$), and (ii) early from late recidivists ($p < \cdot 05$).

As the overall delinquency rates and the processes that precede the incarceration of the sample alter its social class composition, the levels of delinquent intelligence change; different types of crime, carrying their own social class distributions, make further discrepancies. Even assuming that tests standardized on a normal group are valid for cultural deviants, the investigation of generalizations about 'the intelligence of delinquents' calls for such extreme refinements of sampling that only an *a priori* reason more cogent than any so far advanced for postulating intelligence to be a factor in delinquency seems to me to justify the accumulation of the data.

J. W. Anderson.

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NOTES AND CRITICISMS

Report of the Royal Commission on the Law relating to Mental Illness and Mental Deficiency, 1954–1957.[1]

It would be impossible within the short space of a critical survey of this sort to deal with the whole of the Report of more than 300 pages, important as the whole Report is. It is proposed to comment merely on two aspects: the principal changes proposed for the admission and discharge from hospital; and the suggested methods of dealing with the mentally ill or defective individual when before the Courts. In assessing such a Report, it is important to remember the 'natural history' of a Royal Commission's Report. Such an enquiry is usually set up because of developments or changes in public opinion. The members of the Commission itself are distinguished people; but they do not all have expert or specialized knowledge of the topic. Their task is to hear and interpret expert and interested opinion. This Report shows clearly the influence of these factors.

The first major recommendation is to equate much more fully the legislation dealing with insanity, mental deficiency and personality disorders. For this purpose a new classification of patients has been devised; viz., the mentally ill, psychopathic patients, and patients of severely subnormal personality. Although it is stressed that these are legal and administrative divisions, and the Report endeavours to give a clear definition of each, it could be objected that this classification is unscientific, and perhaps even a retrograde step. Despite its original

[1] H.M.S.O., Cmnd. 169, 1957, 10s. 6d.

legitimate and restricted meaning, ' psychopathic personality ' is already too often used as a diagnostic ' dustbin '. Is it wise further to confuse the situation by greatly enlarging this group to include ' any type of aggressive or inadequate personality which does not render the patient severely subnormal . . . but which is recognized medically as a pathological condition '?. Although, as the Report stresses elsewhere, the total reaction and make-up of the mentally defective individual within his social setting is as important as his intelligence level, is it satisfactory to devise an administrative and legal term which refers only to ' severely subnormal personality ', and makes no mention of intelligence in the term itself? Will the wide use proposed for the term ' mentally ill patients ' allay or increase lay anxiety over a distinction between the neuroses and psychoses? The aim of the Report in proposing this classification is the excellent one of ensuring that each patient is admitted to the type of treatment or residential care appropriate to his clinical condition, rather than those determined by rigid legal definitions. But in aiming at this goal, and endeavouring to avoid the ' stigma ' of the previous legal definitions, would a rather different choice have been more valuable?

Of late, a good deal of lay and expert opinion has deprecated the elaborate legal procedures governing the admission to, and detention in, a mental (or mental deficiency) hospital, as opposed to the procedures used in any other type of hospital. A great deal of the Report, and probably its most publicized section, deals with the proposed changes in these procedures. Briefly, there are three central recommendations.

It is envisaged that the great majority of patients should enter, and leave, hospital with as little formality as is used at a general hospital. This is emphasized by the suggestion that the patient should be deemed to be willing for admission, unless he specifically makes an objection. In principle, this is an excellent plan and a considerable step forward in the policy of equating the treatment of mental and physical ill-health. The benefit of eliminating the ' legal ' restrictions which are implicit in the present ' voluntary patient ' admission would be very great. But it has also to be considered whether, in a minority of cases, some safeguard for the patient needs to be retained. What dangers are there for the patient who does not have ' volition ', or the capacity to make a reasonable refusal through lack of understanding, but whose relatives have ' persuaded ' him to enter hospital? It could be argued that most patients in this category may, in fact, require residential care; but the situation could arise where the relatives were endeavouring to avoid their responsibility for a patient who would be better remaining in the general community. Under a further proposal, the hospital would have the power to refuse the admission in such a case; and a case-work approach to the relatives by the hospital's social worker would be the obvious step. But there could remain cases where very great difficulties, and possibly even misuse of this provision, might arise.

The Report proposes the abolition of ' certification ' in its present form and suggests new procedures for the small number of patients who would require in-patient treatment against their own will, or against the wishes of their relatives. A clear distinction is made between these two categories. In the first of these instances it is recommended that the existing type of legal ' Order ' be replaced by a medical ' recommendation ', completed by two medical practitioners, one of whom should be experienced in psychiatry and the other (where possible) the family doctor. This recommendation and the various minor detailed modifications that go

with it will be generally welcomed. Where it is the relatives who oppose the patient's admission, a more complex procedure is suggested. Perhaps the nearest analogy would be to liken it to the procedures whereby a child ' in need of care or protection ' is placed by the Court in the care of the local authority. Although the Report proposes some wise precautions to avoid press publicity, with consequent trauma to the patient, the procedure does seem cumbersome, unnecessarily elaborate and distressing for the relatives. One wonders if a Court, even under these conditions, is the best setting for such a procedure. Nor is it easy to see the real justification for providing two such widely differing procedures.

The third set of major recommendations involves the abolition of the Board of Control and the establishment of an entirely new type of review tribunal to which periodic appeals could be made against compulsory detention. The Report considers that the ' protective ' functions of the Board of Control have become largely a formality. The Board itself appears to have suggested its own disappearance, but some may wonder whether a reformed Board with rather different functions and power might have given a greater degree of security for the deeply disturbed patient. Indeed, whilst approving the excellent general aim of the Report to make the procedures at mental hospitals, mental deficiency hospitals and general hospitals as similar as possible, it may be thought that the Report has carried this aim to a point that is not appropriate to *all* patients.

The important innovation, suggested in this part of the Report, is the setting up of Regional Mental Health Review Tribunals. These bodies, which would have both medical and legal members, would have the duty of independent review of those cases in which the patient (or, in most cases, the relatives) considered his compulsory detention to be unnecessary or unjustified. The obvious need would be for these Tribunals not only to be ' independent ', but to appear so to the aggrieved parties. The suggested procedure for the appointment of the Tribunal would ensure the first of these requirements. The second would require most careful attention to the details of procedure and the avoidance of delay between applications and hearing. The members of the Commission have obviously given long and careful consideration to these points. Their reasons for this recommendation and their detailed suggestions on the functions and methods of the proposed Tribunals will attract general approval.

Under the terms of reference, the Report does not directly concern itself with the ' Broadmoor patient '; but it recommends some important changes in the powers of the Courts concerned with offenders who are ' mentally disordered '.

Perhaps the most important points suggested in this section of the Report are on the specialized nature of the medical evidence in these cases, and the proposal that the Court should ' authorize ' rather than ' order ' the necessary psychiatric treatment. The Criminal Justices Act, like most other similar measures, has evaded defining the term ' psychiatric specialist '. Here the type of qualification and experience of the two medical practitioners advising the Court is much more clearly described; there will be little doubt of the importance of such a recommendation.

As an obvious, but important, result of this recommendation, the Report emphasizes that decisions on the nature of treatment must be a medical matter.

And, as far as possible, the procedures for admission and treatment should be the same as would be used for ' non-delinquent ' patients. It is appreciated that in some cases additional powers would be necessary and this is provided for in the Report. The Report stresses, however, that such powers will seldom require to be used, and emphasizes the dangers of using such procedures in all cases, merely because they are necessary in some. Careful consideration is given also to the much debated problem of ' indefinite ' detention; the Report shows wise and full awareness of the dangers of such powers and recommends the widest practicable precautions to avoid the abuse of such a possibility with the delinquent patient. It is interesting to note the recommendation that, even where the accused is shown to be ' mentally disturbed ', the Court should have power to utilize normal penal methods, or to combine these with the authorization of appropriate psychiatric (or other) treatment, should the needs of the individual defendant require such action. Here, as elsewhere throughout this Report, the emphasis is on the need to assess each individual case on its own merits and requirements, rather than to use ' blunderbuss ' legislation; and to consider the medical and social implications of each problem as a whole. Indeed, this concept is one of the basic and most important implications of this valuable Report.

The same sound principles are found throughout the remainder of the Report. The recommendations on the increased use of community care and on the methods of ascertainment of the ' severely subnormal personality ' are well worth careful study.

Although criticism in detail is possible, there is no doubt that the adoption of the major recommendations of this Report would represent another important step forward in the field of mental health in this country. Some new legislation would be necessary to implement the whole Report; but, as is pointed out in the document itself, some of the proposed changes could be introduced within the framework of existing legislation by administrative action by the Executive. It is to be hoped, therefore, that this Report will not suffer the interminable delays in action which have followed the Reports of a number of other recent Royal Commissions.

T. A. Ratcliffe.

The University Teaching of Social Science: Criminology.

Reports prepared by Denis Carroll, Jean Pinatel and others. (UNESCO, 1957.)

UNESCO, which has done much for the promotion and international recognition of social studies in a broad sense of the word, has recently taken up the cause of criminology. In a series, The University Teaching of Social Sciences, a Report on Criminology has been published which was prepared for UNESCO by the International Society of Criminology. The Report consists of three parts: first, a general survey by the late Dr. Denis Carroll and M. Pinatel, covering present conditions in numerous countries on the basis of national reports from ten countries and on an international symposium held in London during the Third International Congress of Criminology in 1955. The second part consists of certain conclusions drawn from this survey by M. Pinatel for the benefit of countries which want to develop

the study and teaching of criminology. The third part consists the ten national reports written by leading experts in these countries.

English readers will be deeply moved to see, after the untimely death of Denis Carroll, a contribution once more from this ardent promoter of international co-operation in the field of criminology. Now that we have to do without his wise counsel so generously given and his contagious optimism, the tragic loss of this great scholar is made even more apparent. It is always difficult to build up a comprehensive picture from innumerable details from many countries and to rely on curricula and examination conditions without knowing the actual content of the lectures and the standard of the courses. As the authors themselves say, the mere word ' Institute ' may cover activities of widely different character. However, certain general observations suggest themselves from the authors' discussions and conclusions. They are based on two principles, the humanistic approach and the confirmation of the unity of teaching and research. ' The study of the criminal phenomenon must be taken up in a new perspective, from the point of view of man and his needs, and not from that of repression and its techniques' (51). ' The teaching of criminology is indispensable in order to give life to scientific research in this domain ' (14). The teaching of criminology is developing from special subjects in the faculties of law and medicine, or, in England and the United States, in the Departments of Social Science, into an autonomous multi-disciplinary subject. Its place should therefore be in an Institute of the University as a whole, a new venture across the boundaries of traditional frontiers.

The Report shows that from whatever particular academic branch the teaching of criminology began, whether from anthropology in the sense of the Italian school or from psychology or forensic medicine or penology, there was soon a tendency to embrace the whole field of crime and punishment and then to develop into criminology proper. From a historical point of view, it was often the influence of an eminent scholar who initiated the study and teaching of criminology in his country and gave it its direction. The great figures of the past are still recalled in the national reports on present teaching facilities. The Austrian Institutes in Vienna and Graz show the imprint of Hans Gross. Italy has long been under the influence of anthropological conceptions of Lombrosian origin, the strong position of Belgium testifies to the lasting influence of Prins and Verwaeck, and the psychiatric orientation in Sweden goes back to Olaf Kinberg. Our own time with the increasing demand for unbiased empirical research has brought these various approaches nearer together and made the picture of contending schools of criminology a thing of the past. At the same time it strengthened the case for a comprehensive teaching of criminology on general university level.

A study of the well-documented evidence of this Report suggests that, as far as the organization of courses and the design of curricula are concerned, there are, in many countries, satisfactory opportunities for vocational training of members of penal and corrective services and also for supplementary academic instruction of future judges, if only lawyers could be persuaded to make sufficient use of such facilities. What is much more doubtful is whether we shall find sufficient qualified criminologists for these teaching tasks and for the increasing demands of criminological research. This difficulty justifies the more far-reaching ideas of the promoters and authors of this Report that Institutes of Criminology should be established within the academic framework of individual countries, if not on an

international basis under the auspices of the International Society of Criminology. For any such projects, two principles which the authors emphasize are essential and in need of further implication. They are the multi- and inter- disciplinary character of criminology and the preference, besides lectures, seminars and book-study, for a clinical method in the teaching of criminology. The ideal institute would have medical, psychological and sociological departments of its own for which new forms of closely integrated co-operation must be found. Some of the seminars and classes may be held jointly by members of different departments. Demonstrations in forensic medicine may be supplemented by comments of a lawyer. Under fortunate personal conditions even a dyarchy of a medical expert and a sociological criminologist as head of the Institute might be envisaged. Again, for the clinical approach to the study of this particular form of human behaviour new forms must be found. Mere visits to courts and institutions are not enough, and the presentation of prisoners in analogy to clinical demonstrations in hospitals might even be misleading, though there are some precedents for such 'prison clinics'. The criminal phenomenon can neither be studied nor demonstrated on individual probationers or prisoners seen in isolation, even if there are no objections on ethical grounds. Human action and reaction will only be understood by those who undertake responsibilities with regard to the persons they want to study. The teaching of criminology has to learn from present methods of social training. Supervised case-work and periods of practical work in institutional and non-institutional penal and corrective services are the forms of clinical teaching in non-medical behaviour disciplines. The authors too consider such possibilities (42). An Institute of Criminology should be not only a place of research and teaching, but also a centre of preventive and remedial action.

By the wealth of information no less than by stimulating proposals this recent UNESCO publication is most welcome as a basis for any further discussion of the future of criminology.

M. GRÜNHUT.

CRITICAL NOTICE

THE MORAL DECISION. By Edmund Cahn. (Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1955. Pp. ix. + 324. $5.00.)

The literature on the relation between law and morality is remarkable in quality and quantity alike, and in a number of countries there are also collections of court cases which include some illustrative material on that relationship. Professor Cahn's book seems to be the first attempt, however, to combine in one volume both the theoretical, legal-philosophical, and the case-book approach to the problem. If his selection is limited to American court cases—'What moral guidance can be found in American law?' is the opening sentence of the book—this has been done not because of any implied superiority of that legal system but, as the author explains, because his problems are easier to understand in the cultural setting of a single nation. In spite of this limitation, however, the book deserves the attention of non-American readers as a successful pioneering venture far exceeding in importance the boundaries of the U.S.A. or any other national system.

Primarily written for a public of legal and philosophical laymen, it deepens our understanding of both law and legal philosophy. In an introduction of 60 pages the author deals with ' Morals as a Legal Order ' and ' Law as a Moral Order '. He feels the first of these two equations to be justified as there is a ' moral constitution ' and a ' moral legislation ', perhaps slightly too vague, too general and remote from the individual case and becoming more and more the object of scepticism and revolt, but nevertheless meaning something more than merely socially established mores. Under the heading ' Law as a Moral Order ', the author, searching for the difference between law and morality, rightly rejects, as many others have done before him, such well-worn over-simplifications as the idea that the law is mainly pre-occupied with external conduct, morality with motives, or that the difference between legal and moral rules lies only in their respective methods of enforcement, or the nineteenth century, ' frontier conditioned ', conception of the law as a bare ' ethical minimum ' (Georg Jellinek). The new industrial age, he argues, has forced the law to raise its moral standards, and the judges are no longer so easily inclined to stress the diversity of law and morals. This latter statement may not be universally accepted, and in the field of criminal law reform readers of the Wolfenden Report will have appreciated the firmness with which the Departmental Committee adheres to that fundamental distinction.

It is in the Second Part, however, in the dramatic setting of the actual court case, that these and many kindred problems really come to life. Although not many of the illustrations here presented are criminal cases, even some of the author's civil or administrative cases are of direct or at least indirect interest to criminal lawyers and criminologists. Take, for example, the case of the alien sentenced to imprisonment of a year and a day on each of two charges of ' concealing liquor with intent to defraud the government of whiskey taxes '. Can he be deported under a Federal Statute relating to any alien sentenced more than once to imprisonment of more than a year on a charge involving ' moral turpitude ? ' (a phrase which, by the way, also occurs in most Commonwealth Immigration Acts). Is Excise fraud an offence involving ' moral turpitude ' ? A majority of two to one of the Appeal Court judges who had to deal with this case, though admitting the existence of ' a firmly established American custom of tax evasion ', answered in the affirmative. The author, though with some doubts, apparently agrees, not because the accused had cheated the Government, but because he had made a business of doing so. However, is not the recidivist nature of the offence already an essential element in the Federal Statute and should it not, therefore, in addition be used as a constituent factor in the interpretation of the Statute's second requirement, *i.e.* ' moral turpitude ' ? Should we not at least require more than the bare minimum of two sentences to justify the decision that ' making a business of it ' constitutes moral turpitude? Moreover, passing from the legal interpretation of the Statute to matters of judicial sentencing policy, the impression might easily be created that the sentences were fixed at one year and a day each mainly in order to make deportation possible, and it would be tempting to speculate in general terms whether the choice of a sentence should be determined by such extraneous factors. And, lastly, has not the time come for such ambiguous phrases as ' moral turpitude ' to be altogether extirpated from legal phraseology and the decision to be left to unfettered judicial discretion? Without necessarily reducing the moral contents

of the law, this would enable the Courts to give better and more individual consideration to factors truly material to the decision of such cases.

By far the most famous of the criminal cases discussed by Professor Cahn is United States *v.* Holmes (1842), usually linked to the equally famous English case R. *v.* Dudley (1884, 14 Q. B. D. 273), the so-called Mignonette case. In the former, members of a shipwrecked crew threw several of the passengers overboard to save their overcrowded lifeboat from capsizing, and one of them, Holmes, was later arrested, charged with manslaughter and sentenced to six months hard labour. In the Mignonette case, two shipwrecked sailors killed the cabin boy who was with them in an open boat and ate his flesh, thereby preserving their own lives; found guilty of murder, their death sentences were commuted to six months imprisonment. These were the traditional legal solutions of this eternal problem. In some respects, of course, the two cases differ, one of the most important elements of the American case, the legal duty, contractual or statutory, of the crew towards the passengers—we have at least to assume the existence of such a duty in most legal systems—being absent in the Mignonette case. The decision of the latter, on the other hand, may have been clouded by the particularly repulsive factor of cannibalism. In recent Anglo-American literature, these two decisions have been lucidly discussed by Professor Jerome Hall and Dr. Glanville Williams. The latter in his ' Criminal Law. The General Part ', approves of the decision in the Holmes case, not, however, because of any legal obligation on the part of the crew to do their best to save the passengers—this, he thinks ' goes too far in turning the etiquette of the sea into a rule of law '—but because he shares the opinion of the American Court that the selection of the victims should have been made by lot. The present reviewer takes the opposite view. It seems to be mistaken, both legally and morally, to reduce that solemn duty to a mere etiquette, and as far as selection by lot is concerned Professor Cahn's conclusion seems to be preferable that in such a crisis all are ' in the same boat ' and the ' morals of the last days ' require that they must ' all wait and die together '. Similar considerations can be found in the new eighth edition, also published in 1956, of the monumental ' Leipziger Kommentar ' to the German Criminal Code (p. 353)—the law should remain neutral in such extreme cases—but its practical conclusion, impunity, is different from that of Professor Cahn who, disapproving of any human interference with fate, is forced to accept the decision in the Holmes case. How utterly uncertain all this is is shown by the fact that in another place a different contributor to the ' Leipziger Kommentar ' takes the view that man should not play the judge in such situations, and if he does it is not the law but only mercy that can save him from punishment (p. 426). From the penological angle, one has to admit that the threat of punishment can have little or no deterrent power in such an extreme calamity. What about retribution? Here, the answer has to be found in moral rather than in legal considerations, and ' moral judgments ', we are reminded by Ginsberg (' Essays in Sociology and Social Philosophy ', Vol. I, p. ix), ' always have large factual components. A full treatment of morality therefore involves both reflections on moral principles and knowledge of the relevant psychological and sociological facts.' This means that we have to know much more about the details, factual, psychological and sociological, of the individual case to decide whether acts of self-preservation are justified in law, which will happen only in most exceptional circumstances, or whether they are at least excusable or should go unpunished because punishment would make no sense.

Incidentally, Professor Cahn makes a similar point in his admirable criticism of Judge Learned Hand's judgments on the interpretation of the ' good moral character ' clause in the American Naturalization statute. Does an act of euthanasia-killing, committed by a father against his son—blind, mute, deformed, and an idiot—make the father, whose punishment had been a suspended prison sentence with probation, forever unfit to become an American citizen? Who should decide? As Professor Cahn points out, Judge Learned Hand has been inclined in this and a whole series of other cases coming before him in the United States Court of Appeals, to leave the crucial issue to what he regards as ' the common conscience prevalent at the time '. How far this attitude may have been due to Durkheimian ideas Cahn does not explain. He rightly argues, however, not only that, in the American community perhaps even more than elsewhere, uniformity of conscience and agreement on moral standards are unattainable, but also that in border-line cases—and it is only the border-line case that causes these difficulties—the community never possesses the full knowledge of the ' myriad circumstances ' needed to pass judgment on a man's moral character. From this he concludes that the judge cannot divest himself of the responsibility given him by the law. Here, as before in the case of the Immigration Acts, we might perhaps add that the legislator should not burden the judge with the duty of having to decide on 'moral character', but should give him a free hand to judge in the light of all the circumstances of the case. This, far from depriving the judicial decision of its moral content, might make it less conventional and moralistic.

There is a highly topical discussion in the book of the School Segregation decision of the Supreme Court, which the author justly praises for its art of compromise by allowing for plenty of time to ' prepare the public mind ' for de-segregation. Little Rock has, unfortunately, shown meanwhile that even the Supreme Court's generous allowance for ' gradual adjustment ' was not quite generous enough for some sections of the public mind.

H. M.

REVIEWS

SOCIOLOGY OF DEVIANT BEHAVIOUR. By Marshall B. Clinard, (New York: Rinehart and Co. 1957, Pp. 599. $6.50.)

Professor Clinard intends this book ' as a text for courses designated as " social problems ", " social disorganization ", " social pathology " or some similar term ', and goes on to say that it deals with ' certain deviations from social norms which encounter disapproval and to which theory and concepts derived from sociology and social psychology may be applied.' The subjects he has chosen to cover are crime and delinquency, drug addiction, alcoholism, functional mental disorders, suicide, marital and family maladjustment, problems of old age, minority groups and discrimination and prejudice in general. A discussion of these matters is preceded by a brief summary of relevant theoretical approaches in sociology and psychology; and followed by two chapters on various methods adopted to deal with them, *e.g.*, prisons, mental hospitals, Alcoholics Anonymous, group therapy; and by a chapter on the effect of war on deviant behaviour.

This is clearly a textbook for undergraduates starting very much from scratch, and should be judged as such. It summarizes briefly, and usually clearly, a great variety of sources, and is singularly free from unnecessary jargon. One would have thought that the very brief introduction to sociological concepts in Part I would be better left to other courses in sociology. Certainly, if the student gets no more than this he will not be very well equipped in this sphere. But Professor Clinard, one assumes, is suiting his students' needs for this particular course. The book might also have benefited from some judicious pruning, particularly of lists, tables and diagrams which do not add much to the text, and of nearly all the illustrations.

These are, however, minor matters. Much more important is the impression likely to be left after having used this text, about such vexed areas of study as the causes of crime. The ideal textbook writer must surely treat this kind of thing judicially, and with due regard to his own bias. Professor Clinard is a sociologist and is specifically writing about the *sociology* of deviant behaviour, but one cannot but doubt if this excuses the short shrift he gives to psychoanalytical theories, summarily dismissed in three pages of dogmatic assertion, and to any explanation of anything which is not derived from the group. ' Fundamentally,' he says, ' group attitudes are the sources of most criminal behaviour, although personality traits, particularly in connection with some violent personal crimes, cannot be entirely eliminated. Human experience apart from the group is unknown.' From this truism it is a short step to the differential association theory, of which the author is obviously a strong supporter. The chapter from which the quotation is taken then goes on to discuss various sources of delinquent and criminal attitudes, laying stress upon cultural, neighbourhood and gang influences, and minimizing those deriving from the family. ' Among large sections of the urban population today the family no longer plays the dominant idealized role that certainly is in the minds of those who think of it as the primary factor in encouraging or preventing delinquency and crime,' and again: ' The effort to link delinquency with broken homes is probably a blind alley, since the concept of a broken home is by no means a constant factor, and the relationship of broken homes to delinquency has never been conclusively demonstrated,' an argument which this reviewer would not expect or accept from a first-year student. On the basis of what is said in this chapter, and elsewhere, it would surely be difficult for students to appreciate that *any* viable theories of causation exist other than those of a sociological nature put forward here.

It would not, of course, be right to ask that any author should fail to state views in which he has a sincere belief. Nevertheless, the writing of a textbook, and particularly where it is likely to be used as the sole text, imposes an inescapable obligation to treat views held as sincerely by others with scrupulous impartiality. I cannot feel that Professor Clinard is always as careful as he might be in pointing out the motes in his own eyes, while expatiating upon the beams in those of other people. One can only hope that his students take also a course in the psychology of deviant behaviour, and that someone makes it his business to reconcile the two.

GORDON ROSE.

JUGENDLICHE STOEREN DIE ORDNUNG 1957. By Curt Bondy, Jan Braden, Rudolf Cohen and Klaus Eyferth. (Juventa-Verlag, Munich.)

This, the first of a series to be sponsored by the Working Party for Youth Services and Youth Welfare (*Jugendpflege* and *Jugendfuersorge*) in Western Germany, is an attempt to investigate and explain the phenomenon of the ' Halbstarke ', the teen-age ' rioters '. The impetus for the investigation came from discussions held at the tenth Annual Conference of the German Association of Juvenile Courts and Probation Officers held at Marburg in October, 1956.

The incidents investigated occurred in seventeen major towns of West Germany in the period from 1st July, 1955, to 31st December, 1956, and each involved fifty or more young people, aged 14 to 25, who were not members of a particular group. The methods used included a study of court, police and other records, an examination of press reports, interviews with officials and with fifty participants in the riots, observation of ' riots ', etc.

The phenomena studied are compared to Teddy boys in Britain, to ' Nozems ' in Holland, to ' Gamberros ' in Spain and to similar youthful rioters in U.S.A. and Sweden and ' Jazz fiends ' in U.S.S.R. Only France and Italy are exonerated. But they are confined to large-scale, more or less spontaneous outbreaks, in which the individualistic costume and the behaviour of many British Teddy boys played only a little part.

Professor Bondy and his colleagues trace the use of the word ' Halbstarke ' back to the end of the nineteenth century. (The word ' hooligan ' appears for the first time around 1898.) As with ' Teddy boy ', the word has been used loosely to cover a wide field of juvenile delinquents, gang members, etc. This study categorizes three types of ' krawall ' or riot, the pure riot, the performance riot (one linked with jazz performance or a film like ' Rock Around the Clock ') and the ' follow-up ' riot (which is a kind of ' keeping up with the Jones's ' to show that ' we ' can do the same sort of thing, even ' better ').

Regarding the participants, the following conclusions are interesting: over 50 per cent. were in the 16–18 age group; very few, if any, girls took part; the participants did not come from any particular socio-economic group nor in particular from broken homes. Most of them were at work and had reasonable earnings. There was usually no ' boss ', no direct connection between the teenage-riots and juvenile delinquency and no sinister promoter, either political or commercial, behind the scenes.

After cataloguing the many factors which may have affected young people psychologically (the family and economic crises of the war and immediate post-war periods, housing problems, confusion of values, influence of the films, etc.), the authors find no general difference between all young people to-day and those who take part in the riots. ' A large part of to-day's youth are potential Halbstarke (Teddy boys?) because of what they have experienced in their past.' As a reason why some break out in disorderly fashion and others do not, they point to the need for ' letting off steam ', particularly in mass or crowd situations, and cite the traditional Carnival behaviour as a socially-recognized example of this.

In present-day society, at school or at work, there is little opportunity for the unrestricted expression of emotions. This leads to a vague dissatisfaction. In the crowd, youth finds a safety valve; responsibility can be cast off, everyone joins in, and an atmosphere of fellowship is created, a kind of ecstatic satisfaction.

Among the preventive measures recommended are the building up of closer and informal contacts between the authorities and young people, the holding of special, well-organized performances, the establishment of more ' open ' youth centres (homes of the open door) the use of school buildings for youth activities, the provision of sports facilities, bicycle and motor bicycle tracks, etc. There is a useful German bibliography.

PETER KUENSTLER.

TOWARDS A MEASURE OF MAN. By Paul Halmos. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd. 1957. Pp. 250. 28s.)

It is not long ago that Dr. Halmos stirred the reader by his ' Solitude and Privacy ', a provocative work on the sociability of man, which made one look forward to his next work. In some respects this volume is a continuation of the earlier work, but here the concept of normality comes in for critical examination. It exhibits the same liveliness and wide scholarship and takes us back to the very origin of life itself in discussing the theories of Driesch, Schroedinger and Bernal.

Two principles Dr. Halmos regards as pertinent to life—that of growth and of cohesion—and, in the latter, he sees some of the biological expression of the social tie. He gives evidence from biology to this effect. Self-preservation is a kind of residue or continuation of the survival processes we follow in the life of a species.

Much of the book is concerned with an analysis of the term normal and the author considers the degree with which some measure of deviation or ' abnorm ' is commensurate with satisfactory adaptability. It must be clearly distinguished from average behaviour. For readers of this Journal this matter is of considerable moment because in the literature concerning delinquency we are repeatedly confronted by the concepts of ' abnormal ', ' average ', ' social ', ' acceptable ', ' legally permissible ', etc.

While this work does not satisfy the statistical discussion of conduct standards, it will reward the reader who is seeking at least some methodological standards for further enquiries into social behaviour—delinquent and otherwise.

E. M.

THE DELINQUENT CHILD AND THE COMMUNITY. By Donald Ford. (London: Constable & Co. Ltd. 1957. Pp. 204. 24s.)

Mr. Ford has already established our indebtedness to him for his understanding volume on the deprived child. As Chairman of the L.C.C. Children's Committee, and now as a magistrate, he has wide, deep and authoritative knowledge of the subject to which he has already dedicated himself.

This book deals at length with the probation service, the remand home, the classifying school and the varying patterns of the approved school.

The issue of the classifying school is focused because the decision as to how the future treatment of the offender is to be designed is of paramount importance. As Mr. Ford states with correct emphasis, the classifying school is a place of study of needs and not one of therapy, but he must see that therapy of a real though imponderable kind starts as soon as the child is taken over by the authorities. The child senses as soon as the shock of trial is over that he is straightaway being understood. Classifying is itself a therapeutic step.

The approved school is difficult to design for one important reason that Mr. Ford does not stress. The cultural and social pattern of our time changes so rapidly that neither teaching nor architecture nor training can wholly keep up with the change. What, however, are relatively unchanging—and the author fully realizes this—are the basic psychological dynamics, insecurity, feelings of inadequacy met by a dozen subterfuges and lack of affectionate quality in parental-child relations. There is still much to be done to create the proper social milieu within the school and this means regard for proper personnel as well as adequate buildings and training facilities. The needs of the child can only be ascertained by managers seeing for themselves and talking to the individual offender. This Mr. Ford has done and he has soaked in the atmosphere. This has given him the best of inderstanding and sympathy which helps him to appreciate the inevitable difference of approach that exists from time to time between the staff and the visiting psychiatrist. The insight of the latter cannot but be at variance with established concepts of discipline. This will continue to be a vexed problem which can only be solved not by a general principle, but by local needs and the morale set up by the headmaster and his staff. Permissive behaviour is a point of varying position on a sliding scale of needs—the emotional relationship can and must determine how much freedom and how much restraint.

In the second section devoted to social problems of delinquency, Mr. Ford recapitulates his emphasis on the effect of deprivation, expressed as paternal hostility and maternal lack of love, and he extends his thesis in the examination of the emergence of the Teddy boy and the responsibility of what he calls the defective community. No student of delinquency will question Mr. Ford's entry into the field of sociology. If delinquency has any meaning, it is involved in society and what this means in terms of its intrinsic demands and the demands that the individual makes upon society. Unless social science and dynamic psychology work together, the problem of delinquency and the management of the delinquent will remain not unsolved but insoluble.

E. M.

UNSETTLED CHILDREN AND THEIR FAMILIES. By D. H. Stott, M.A., Ph.D. (London University Press. 1956. Pp. 240. 16s.)

Dr. Stott's work is well known since his book ' Delinquency and Human Nature ' appeared a few years ago. As Research Fellow to the Bristol University Education Dept., he has had special opportunities for the scientific study of delinquency, particularly in its environmental relationships. Readers of this book will notice that, whilst he has this fundamental scientific approach, he has not deviated from the need in this field of work for the expression of human sympathy and understanding.

The volume contains a Foreword by Sir Basil Henriques, who invited Dr. Stott to give the Hannah Hyam Lecture at the Baron Settlement. This lecture forms a chapter of this volume. It is in this chapter, entitled ' Rethinking our Methods ', that Dr. Stott exposes his point of view. This is a refreshing criticism of the present approach to the delinquency problem, *e.g.*, he makes a direct attack on the technique in some clinics of placing too much emphasis on the I.Q. level of children, realizing, as he does, that backward children—particularly in the field of anti-social behaviour—are so distressed that they cannot use their available intelligence

and the calculated I.Q. is both spurious and an unsound reason for pessimism in treatment.

Dr. Stott's approach to the family problem of the unsettled child is eminently practical and his exposition is of a colloquial quality which must have made his lectures interesting to his hearers. This lecture manner, however, does not make for good reading; his style could have been winnowed with profit.

The other important chapters are those on the ' Handling of Cases and Examples of Diagnosis and Treatment '. The section on the ' Sociology of the Family Pattern ' is slender, despite the practicality of the approach. Dr. Stott is weakest on matters of theory—not because he has no theories, but rather because of a certain reserve in his acceptance and an apparent effort to create a new concept in order to avoid too ready a concession to current psychopathology. In fact, Dr. Stott has no psychopathology, in the strict meaning of the term, to suggest. The theories of maladjustment which he brings forward are perhaps closer to current etiological ideas than to, say, the theories of Freud. There is no objection to this if he exposes a new angle on the problem of human conduct. One almost feels that there must have been times when he was confronted by difficult cases and their failures. A deeper dimension than he has given would have helped him towards a solution at times.

Nevertheless, on the iconography of children and parents, he has produced some valuable pictures from which the reader and the field worker can draw sustenance for further enquiry.

E. M.

CASEWORK PAPERS, 1956. From the National Conference of Social Work. (New York: Family Service Association of America. Pp. 156. $2.00.)

These papers, selected from a large number presented to the American National Conference on Social Work serve a useful function as indicators of current trends in American casework thinking.

A first group of papers represents a new, but possibly widespread tendency in U.S.A. towards reconsideration of the hierarchial system of staff supervision in American casework agencies which has long aroused in British social workers mingled feelings of admiration, inferiority, superiority and anxiety. Miss Austin, Miss Fingert and Miss Beatman agree in their concern at the concentration of power in the hands of the supervisor which results from her double function as teacher and administrator. This is shown to be a burden to the supervisor, and detrimental to her relationship with the worker, to depress the status of the case-worker and to discourage the development of those qualities of initiative, independence, responsibility and maturity which are essential components of professional competence. This warning comes aptly at a time when American social work is exercising considerable influence on British thought and training, and when British social workers are concerned to distinguish the main high road of American progress from those byways or blind alleys which should be avoided.

There follows a series of papers on casework with various types of client. Some of these are rather breathless in quality, and describe a busy type of casework in which the resources of the environment are powerfully mobilized to supply the needs of the underprivileged. This is particularly marked in the article on ' Meeting the Needs of Fatherless Families'. Mrs. S, a deprived deserted wife, is helped with rehousing,

encouraged to obtain credit while awaiting her husband's erratic payments, given money for dentures, and ' home-maker service ' during surgical treatment, and encouraged to attend dress-making classes. But underlying all this activity is the worker's awareness of supplying the client's unmet dependency needs, giving her confidence that others care about her and thus enabling her to give more attention to the needs of her children. This kind of service is considered appropriate ' when the mother's ego is weak and treatment is directed toward supporting her existing strengths in order to free her to use her maternal capacity to the maximum. More frequently than not, in cases of this kind treatment is aimed at maintaining the client's adaptive patterns, and strong reliance is placed on the use of ego-supportive techniques in an effort to strengthen the total family unit '.

This quotation illustrates the rather formidable use of jargon, which creates a real difficulty in communication for the British reader. At times we wonder whether these ' ego-supportive techniques ' are not perhaps our old friends advice, encouragement, approval and praise in modern dress. However, Dr. Morton Eisenberg, writing on ' Casework with the Unmarried Mother ', gives a very clear and valuable account of casework techniques, especially those identified by Bibring as ' clarification ' and ' manipulation ', with illustrations of their appropriate use. His section on ' Utilization of the Transference ' could, however, be clearer. It is disturbing to read: ' The model for the transference relationship is that of the ' good ' mother-child relationship. The principal transference wish *that is being gratified by the worker* is that inherent in *the dependency relationship with the omnipotent mother* ' (my italics). Are the case-worker mother-substitutes not at times impersonating rather too enthusiastically that phantasy figure, the omnipotent mother, instead of enabling the client to accept a relationship more strongly flavoured with reality? Might the ego sometimes be more strengthened if less were done for the client, less dependency accepted? However, Dr. Eisenberg is aware of these dangers, and warns his readers against unnecessary stimulation and intensification of the regressive dependency relationship with the worker ' by excessive " dosages " of gratification. The optimum level of gratification has to be determined by careful evaluation of the individual case'.

The caseworker as omnipotent parent appears most strongly in the paper on ' Treatment of Acting-Out Character Disorders in a Marital Problem '. The caseworker was confronted with a marital couple who bit and kicked each other in their battles, who constantly separated and reunited; a wife who punished her diabetic husband by refusing to cook for him, and a husband who retaliated by withholding her allowance. With psychiatric support, a single male caseworker was assigned to this couple, interviewing each partner separately, and occasionally together at their request. He adopted towards both ' a firm, warm, realistic approach ', accepting the anger and unhappiness of each, but at the same time advising definitely against the client's most infantile and destructive behaviour explaining to each how this behaviour only provoked retaliation, showing patience when the clients failed to act on his suggestions, and warm approval whenever they tried to please each other. Here again, this is presented as a special technique for dealing with a special type of infantile, impulsive and uncontrolled personality, which is often unresponsive to a more passive type of casework; but we have to remember that they are apt to be equally unresponsive to more active and directive

casework unless it is conducted (as in this case) with most sensitive and sympathetic concern for their feelings. The term ' prohibition of acting-out ' which is used several times, is almost certainly a mis-description of the technique and is both unfortunate and misleading—and distinctly omnipotent!

Space does not permit of further discussion, but there are papers of special interest to those (such as probation officers) who are involved in casework with children and adolescents, and a useful paper on ' Traumatic Effects of Separation and Placement '.

ELIZABETH E. IRVINE.

FAMILY AND KINSHIP IN EAST LONDON. By M. Young and P. Willmott. (London Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957. Pp. 232. 25s.)

Emotional maladjustment is often at the root of delinquent behaviour, and such maladjustment sometimes results from deviations from normal relationships within the family. But what exactly are ' normal ' patterns of behaviour in the ' British family '? And for that matter, what is the ' British family '? As Professor Titmuss points out in the foreword to this study of family life, much of what has been written on the subject is nonsense. Knowledge of customary patterns of behaviour is essential as a background to the study of the abnormal or disrupted. There is a real need for objective studies of family life in different parts of Britain, among families of different social and economic status, as an adequate basis for all concerned with social policy or welfare.

This book describes family life in two working-class districts of London. The authors lean heavily on kinship theories developed by social anthropologists. They found that working-class families in Bethnal Green were not simple units of parents and children, but often included other relatives, such as grandparents, and that extended kinship ties played a significant part in their daily lives. The rehousing of individual families from Bethnal Green in a new housing estate often disrupted the close networks of personal relationships, and as a result many families found difficulty in adjusting to the new conditions.

Mum emerges as the dominant figure within the family. The authors talk of families as ' mother-centred ', although pointing out that daughters are more often, and more fully, centred on their mothers than are sons. The great ' triangle ' of family life in Bethnal Green is mum-wife-husband, a situation which obviously creates particular kinds of tensions, and must affect the development of children. To what extent this reflects normal working-class family life elsewhere in Britain, or differs from family life in other socio-economic classes, only further comparative research can show. This book, the first report of the Institute of Community Studies, is of interest to all concerned with sociology.

W. WATSON.

AUTOUR DE L'OEUVRE DU DR. E. DE GREEFF. Vol. I: L'HOMME CRIMINEL. Vol. II: L'HOMME DEVANT L'HUMAIN. Pp. xxviii + 256, iv. + 212. Editions: Nauwelaerts, Louvain, and Béatrice-Nauwelaerts, Paris, 1956.

These two handsomely printed volumes, in honour of Dr. de Greeff's twenty-five years tenure of an appointment at the University of Louvain, contain a series of articles embracing a wide field of studies. Amongst the contributors appear the names of Pinatel, Kinberg, Cornil, Zilboorg and de Greeff himself. The first

volume contains studies of the personality of the delinquent, and of the role of the psychiatrist in the penal institution setting, and in penal matters in general. The second volume, of less interest to the criminologist, contains papers on aspects of psychiatry and of academic psychology.

Little original research is reported in these volumes, the first of which seems to be much concerned with the theme of criminal responsibility. One of the most interesting contributions, in fact, comes from Professors Pompe, Kempe and Baan of Holland on ' the problem of responsibility '. In this, as in other articles, some attempt is made to reconcile traditional, existentialist and views of psychoanalytical origin concerning responsibility within the implied general framework, it would appear, of Roman Catholic doctrine. The whole approach and method of study enshrined in these volumes, clinical studies apart, are far removed from English empiricism. To some it may be refreshing to peruse nearly five hundred pages unblemished by statistics, but this, coupled with the paucity of references to English and American studies in this field, throws into relief the limitations, in terms of scientific method, of many of the papers. In general, articles dealing with the practical problems of the assessment of delinquents, including juveniles, will not be of great significance for English penologists, although they shed some light on the stage reached in some western European countries and the questions which they have to face.

JOHN CROFT.

DER DESPERADO, EIN BEITRAG ZUR PSYCHOLOGIE DES REGRESSIVEN MENSCHEN (The Desperado, a contribution to the psychology of the regressive human being). By Hans von Hentig. (Springer Verlag. 1956. Pp. 236. M.19.80).

In this book Hans von Hentig describes the primitive élan with which the conquest of the American West was carried out. The description is extremely vivid: the author gives a complete cultural image of the period, highlighting the frailty of a civilization of which the modern American is so inordinately proud. Although less than a century has passed since the conquest began, the pace of living in the New World has been so quick that already the period may be said to belong to the past, and in its description historical event and legend are often inextricably interwoven.

The author shows how the War of Secession and the conflict with Mexico uprooted a great number of people who then—as 'outlaws' —developed a marked propensity to loot the abundance of land, cattle and minerals that existed in the West. They became desperados who deprived themselves and others of that value which is so significant for the civilized world.

Free from the barriers which are otherwise set for people of our days by law and actual conditions of authority, they have to a large extent lost the awareness of the limits of ' being allowed ' and ' being able ' which have been set by domestication throughout several thousand years. Under such conditions the concepts of law undergo a general retrograde development. Thus ' justified self-defence ' lost one justification after the other, till finally nothing but the claim to power remained.

Not quite so convincing as his sociological reflections are at times the author's crimino-biological comments. This may be connected with the fact that the mania for extremes and exaggerations which is characteristic of the desperado and his behaviour rendered the individual inaccessible to exact personality study. Furthermore, it appears that some of the qualities, characteristic of the desperado, are not

so much due to an atavistic relapse, but result from a one-sided procedure of selection, which in the rough environment of the reactionary civilization favoured the survival of the physically robust.

These objections do not, however, reduce the value of this excellent book which will be read with interest, enjoyment and instruction by any expert in criminology, sociology and cultural history who is not merely interested in present-day problems.

R. GRASSBERGER.

THE MIND OF THE MURDERER. By W. Lindesay Neustatter. (London. Christopher Johnson, 1957. Pp. 332. 25s.)

Dr. Neustatter exemplifies the mind of the murderer by describing sixteen recent crimes committed by mentally abnormal murderers who between them cover most of the varieties of diagnosis. Many are famous cases and the reader will probably remember seeing the names of most of them in the papers—Heath, Haigh, Straffen, Giffard, Ley, Christie, etc. This adds considerably to the interest because in most cases an account of the offender's previous history is given; there must surely be few of us who have not felt frustrated that courts of law should be compelled to ignore the main problem of how it all came about. A good deal of psychopathology and psychiatry is slipped painlessly between the pages of these histories, yet never in a detail which would bore the general reader and always in a way which is obviously relevant to the event under discussion. At other times the writer turns aside to discuss the progress of the trial and the wider issues of the death penalty and the Homicide Act of 1957. The author makes no pretence of dealing systematically with normal or abnormal murder and there is no discussion of any of the literature, but it remains an interesting and extremely readable book, pleasantly free from the defects which so often accompany ' readability '. There is no sensationalism, axe-grinding, or display of psychopathological *tours de force*, and throughout the tone is calm and compassionate.

T. C. N. GIBBENS.

ADVENTURE IN PLAY. By John Barron Mays. The Story of the Rathbone Street Adventure Playground. (Liverpool Council of Social Service. 1957. Pp. 31. 3s. 6d.)

Here is an attempt to create an area in the midst of a city which shall become an adventure region for constructive play. The Liverpool Council of Social Service found in John Barron Mays, of the University Settlement, an imaginative social worker who realized that whatever the discontents, aggression and economic handicaps endured by a social group, the zest for constructive action, stimulated by adventure and imagination, can give a new social direction to people—to parents and their children. On a piece of waste land, with the aid of what can be called the junk or rejecta of everyday life—old timber, barrels, large drain pipes, old dinghies —the very stuff of adventure is provided. The photographs illustrate what dedicated social workers and their young charges can do with any old piece of debris.

This experiment in adventure shows what can be done to catch delinquent conduct in the bud and, through imagination, to create not only a tolerable, but an enjoyable world literally out of nothing. A most understanding and moving brochure.

E. M.

ABSTRACTS AND REFERENCES

(Contributed by W. J. Bolt, T. Grygier, J. P. Martin and J. C. Spencer)

CRIMINOLOGY

PETER SCOTT: ' Pioneers in Criminology. XI. Henry Maudsley ', *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 1956, **46,** 753–769.

Peter Scott evaluates the life and work of Maudsley in a series on pioneers in criminology. He discusses his attitude towards crime and criminals, the relationship of crime and insanity and epilepsy, environmental, hereditary and psychological causes, punishment and responsibility. He concludes with two sections on Maudsley's attitudes towards children and treatment. J. C. S.

CLARENCE RAY JEFFERY: ' The Development of Crime in the Early English Society ', *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 1957, **47,** 647–666.

In this paper the author traces the development of crime and the criminal law in England from A.D. 400 to A.D. 1200, analysing legal changes in terms of changing social conditions. The pattern of social change was a transition from tribalism to feudalism to nationalism. The land-tie replaced the blood-tie. In consequence a new legal system came into existence. The feud was replaced by a system of compensation. Justice passed into the hands of landlords and became the sole prerogative of the state. J. C. S.

ROBERT Y. THORNTON: ' Organized crime in the field of Prostitution ', *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 1956, **46,** 775–779.

The Attorney-General of the State of Oregon describes methods of organized prostitution rackets, emphasizing the informed circuits which regulate the flow of prostitutes from city to city and state to state, and the role of the various agents in maintaining the system. He draws attention to the importance of public attitudes and concern. J. C. S.

CARMEN MILLER MICHAEL: ' Follow-up Studies of Introverted Children. III. Relative Incidence of Criminal Behaviour ', *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 1956, **47,** 414–422.

This follow-up study consists of a comparison of the relative incidence of delinquency among three groups of children seen by the Dallas Child Guidance classified by independent judges into introverts and extraverts and ambiverts. The results corroborate some other findings that extraverted and ambiverted children, in that order, are more likely than introverted children to become juvenile delinquents. Extraverts are proportionately more likely to commit crimes in adult life. J. C. S.

J. B. MULDOON: ' A Defence of Juvenile Delinquents ', *The Massachusetts Law Quarterly*, 1957, **42,** 3, 7.

PSYCHIATRY

RALPH BRANCALE and LOUIS L. HEYN: ' Detection, Classification, and Treatment of the Youthful Offender '. *Federal Probation*, March, 1957, **21,** 1, 33–40.

Two doctors on the staff of the Diagnostic Center, New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies, Menlo Park, describe its organization and work. Fully staffed by psychiatrists, psychologists, social workers and teachers, the centre provides a diagnostic service for the court and a psychiatric consultation service to the correctional institutions of the state. A detailed account of procedure is given, and the authors conclude ' that the majority of juvenile offenders rightly belong to the neurotic group ' in which the offence represents ' an external symptom of unconscious deviation '. The great problem now is to provide methods of treatment capable of making full use of the diagnostic service. J. P. M.

SAUL ROSENZWEIG: ' Unconscious self-defence in an Uxoricide ', *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 1956, **46,** 791–795.

The basis of this article by the Professor of Psychology and Neuropsychiatry at Washington University, St. Louis, is a case-study of a man found guilty of murdering his wife in 1939. A follow-up study was made of the man in prison thirteen years afterwards. New knowledge on the prisoner's early experience and personality and his vocational and sexual life prior to marriage emerged. The author discusses this in some detail and argues that since the law has long recognized the killing of others in conscious self-defence, consideration should be also given to such unconscious self-defence. An offender like this one would require residence in an institution where he could be studied and perhaps cured. J. C. S.

BEN KARPMAN : ' Uxoricide and Infanticide in a Setting of Oedipal Jealousy '. *Archives of Criminal Psychodynamics*, Winter, 1957, **2,** 109–141.

The first part of an intensive case study. To be continued. T. G.

ANON: ' Justice for the Mentally ill ', *The Journal of the American Judicature Society*, **41,** 2, 46.

GROUP PSYCHOTHERAPY

BERNARD H. SHULMAN: ' Group Psychotherapy in an Army Post Stockade '. *Federal Probation*, March, 1957, **21,** 1, 45–47.

The army ' stockade ' referred to in this article is what an English reader would describe as a short-term detention barracks. In this rather inauspicious setting the author conducted an experimental psychotherapy group of some four to eight patients. It met in a corner of a large mess hall, other parts of which were being used for different purposes. Meetings of an hour and a half were held weekly and each patient attended an average of ten to twelve times. The aim was to encourage the understanding of their own and others' behaviour. An interesting point was the discussion of the psychological problems of the guards. Results claimed were more self-understanding on the part of the patients and, on a wider scale, the creation of ' a better atmosphere throughout the stockade '. Disciplinary problems seemed to decrease. J. P. M.

JOHN WALL and JUNE ELLIS: ' Group Treatment of Adolescent Males in a Juvenile Court Setting '. *Federal Probation*, June, 1957, **21,** 2, 18–22.

Describes experimental use of group treatment of adolescent boys in New Orleans. Most had committed malicious damage or theft of some kind, and had

unsettled or broken homes; all were on probation. The group had eight members who organized its meetings themselves; the two adult leaders confined their rôles to explaining and summarizing the discussions. There seem to be some boys who can make better progress ' within the security of a peer group ' than in individual therapy; this is particularly true in discussions of ' ambivalent feelings towards persons in authority 'and of the problems of sexual development. ' Outstandingly pertinent was their ability to use the experience to gain more adequate superego controls and to develop methods of dealing with their problems '. It is important to regard group treatment as a method valuable in itself, not merely as a solution to the problem of large caseloads. J. P. M.

M. STRANAHAN, C. SCHWARTZMAN and E. ATKIN: ' Group Treatment for Emotionally Disturbed and Potentially Delinquent Boys and Girls ', *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 1957, **27,** 518–527.

SOCIOLOGY

WALTER C. RECKLESS, SIMON DINITZ and ELLEN MURRAY: ' Self Concept as an Insulator against Delinquency ', *American Sociological Review*, 1956, **21,** 744–746.

The authors asked, ' Is it possible to identify certain components that enable young adolescent boys to develop or maintain non-delinquent habits and patterns? ' The sample consisted of 125 ' good ' boys living in the highest delinquency areas of Columbus, Ohio, based on teachers' evaluations. An analysis of four self-administered scales was made. The boys portrayed themselves as law-abiding and obedient, fond of school, stricter about right and wrong than most people, with friends who were non-delinquent, and satisfied with home life and parents. The conclusion is suggested that a well-developed concept of self as a ' good boy ' seems to be strong enough to ' insulate ' the adolescent against delinquency in the unfavourable neighbourhoods. J. C. S.

C. TERENCE PIHLBLAD: ' The Juvenile Offender in Norway ', *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 1955, **46,** 500–511.

The Professor of Sociology in the University of Missouri describes the history and working of the Child Welfare Council system in Norway, particularly since the report of the Child Welfare Committee in 1953. He makes certain comparisons with the American system and illustrates his discussion of the Councils with case material. In a follow-up investigation of 1,863 children over a five-year period Petersen and Nilsen concluded that the creation of a single child welfare authority with overall responsibility for child welfare would better serve the needs of children and be more completely removed from the primitive ideas which in the public mind still surround the Child Welfare Council. Nevertheless Pihlblad emphasizes their relatively non-primitive atmosphere and the flexibility shown in the use of various treatment methods. J. C. S.

KENNETH W. CHAPMAN: ' The Addict and the Community '. *Federal Probation*, March, 1957. **21,** 1, 41–44.

Too much has been expected of the hospital treatment of drug addicts. Society's attitude is ambivalent between ' recognizing that addiction is a manifestation of an illness . . .' and wishing to punish it. At present effective treatment is impossible in most mental hospitals because of lack of staff, while similar

considerations apply in the case of clinics, social work organizations, etc. Faced with a world in which little support is available, while the same problems beset him, it is not surprising that the addict often goes back on drugs. Suggestions as to a programme which would meet the needs of the situation are made. J. P. M.

MARVIN E. WOLFGANG: ' Socio-Economic Factors relating to Crime and Punishment in Renaissance Florence ', *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 1956, **47,** 311–330.

The author considers this subject under the headings of: (*a*) general social milieu; (*b*) sumptuary laws against ornamentation; (*c*) women and crime; (*d*) examples of punishment; (*e*) economic factors. He emphasizes the favourability of the general environment to crime, the marked restrictions, the differential treatment of the sexes, the severity of punishment, and the stringent control and scrutiny of the guild officials. J. C. S.

WILLIAM P. LENTZ: ' Rural Urban Differentials and Juvenile Delinquency ', *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 1956, **47,** 331–339.

A group of 420 at the Wisconsin School for Boys was divided into two groups, rural (310) and urban (290). Hypothesis relating to differences between urban and rural groups were formulated and tested. The author concludes that urban theories do not wholly explain rural delinquency. He mentions the absence of the effect of the criminal culture and of the gang, as well as the implications for treatment. Rural boys committed for relatively minor acts often considered themselves as ' delinquents ' only by virtue of their presence in the institution. J. C. S.

LAW

JOS ANDENAES: ' Determinism and Criminal Law ', *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 1956, **47,** 406–413.

The Professor of Criminal Law at the University of Oslo delivered this address at the University Commemoration Day Celebration. His object is to analyse the consequences which the concepts of determinism and indeterminism involve in criminal law. There is as a rule no *logical* connection between the standpoint adopted *vis-à-vis* determinism-indeterminism and that adopted with regard to definite questions in criminal law. Although it is true to say that the criminal law of the western world is based on an ideology of justice with markedly indeterministic roots, during the last generation there has been a marked development in the direction of a psychological deterministic approach. J. C. S.

S. J. KAPLAN: ' Barriers to the Establishment of a Deterministic Criminal Law ', *The Kentucky Law Journal*, 1957, **46,** 1, 103.

MELVIN L. SELZER: ' Alcoholism and the Law ', *The Michigan Law Review*, 1957, **57,** 2, 237.

CLARENCE RAY JEFFERY: ' Crime, Law and Social Structure. Part I. Methodology ', *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 1956, **47,** 423–435.

The criminologist must study not only the causes of crime in the individual, but also crime as an aspect of institutional systems. The author contrasts the theories of Hall, Maine, Durkheim, and Weber with those of Sutherland, Reckless, Sellin, Healy, Sheldon and the Gluecks. His method is that of institutional

history, emphasizing the functional interdependence of the various parts of the social system. In this article he is concerned with the differentiation of law from custom and inter-relationship of the legal institution with other institutions.

J. C. S.

DONALD J. NEWMAN: 'Pleading Guilty for considerations: A Study of Bargain Justice', *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 1956, **46,** 790–790.

This article describes a research based on interviews with a sample of men, all convicted of 'conventional' felonies in one court district, in regard to the processes involved in their own convictions. The most significant general finding of the study was that the majority of the felony convictions in the district studied were not the result of the formal combative theory of criminal law, but were compromise convictions, the result of bargaining between defence and prosecution.

J. C. S.

ANON: 'The Abyss between Law and Psychiatry', *The Record of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York*, **12,** 8, November 1957, 471.

'Are the Courts Handcuffing the Police?' *The North West University Law Review*, **52,** 1, April 1957.

A symposium on the conflict between law and police practice. W. J. B.

W. F. SCHULZ: 'Criminal Law and Criminal Procedure', *University of Pittsburgh Law Review*, 1957, **19,** 2, 204.

The Professor of Law in the University of Pittsburgh reviews the question of criminal responsibility in degrees of murder. W. J. B.

CORRESPONDENCE

TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD

SIRS,

We were most interested to read Mr. Wilkins' comparative study of the results of probation published in the current number of the *Journal*. It presents yet again a problem implied by other recent studies of the treatment of criminals, and stated in the last sentence of the article: 'Why did undoubtedly different treatment policies make little or no difference in subsequent criminal activity?' It seems to us that this finding, and the relative inability of the staff of institutions to predict the outcome of the treatment they provide, indicate that attention should be paid to the influence of the environment in which the delinquent resides or to which he returns. We know of no scientific study of this question, at least in this country, and we are now preparing to conduct an enquiry ourselves. In view of the apparent absence of research into this aspect of penology, we should be most grateful if any of your readers could draw our attention to work that has escaped our notice. We should welcome any information relevant to our proposed research, which is provisionally entitled 'Social Consequences of Crime for the Offender'.

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Yours, etc.,
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